A HISTORY OF THE ORIENT

STEIGER-BEYER-BENITEZ

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CONFUCIUS WITH TWO OF HIS DISCIPLES

Japanese painting by Tannyu (seventeenth century). Original in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

A HISTORY OF THE ORIENT

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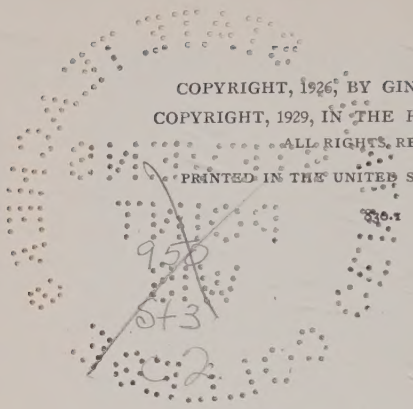

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PREFACE

In the days of international isolation it was immaterial whether or not the peoples of different civilizations had a sympathetic understanding of each other. However, with the meeting of East and West in the region of the Pacific, and with the constantly growing intercourse between the nations of the Occident and the Orient, it has become necessary for national systems of education to furnish the different peoples with knowledge of one another's cultures as a basis of mutual understanding and mutual respect.

The two important centers of civilization in the East — China and India — are given due attention in this book. The spread of Chinese and Hindu cultures is traced in the various countries of the Orient, — Japan, Korea, Indo-China, and Malaysia. Chapters IV, IX, X, XIV, XV, and XVI, together with the latter half of Chapter V, are the work of Professor Beyer and are based on his forthcoming three-volume production dealing with the history of southeastern Asia, Malaysia, and the Philippines prior to the European arrival in the Orient.

This book contains running page references to Robinson, Smith, and Breasted's *Our World Today and Yesterday*. These volumes thus make a two-book course in world history, one from the point of view of the West and the other from the point of view of the East.

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(Down to the Fourth Century B.C.)

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A HISTORY OF THE ORIENT

PART I. THE BEGINNINGS OF ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION

(*Down to the Fourth Century* B.C.)

CHAPTER I

PEOPLING OF EASTERN AND SOUTHERN ASIA

1. The Cradle of the Human Race. Man has inhabited the earth for a very long period; just how long no one knows, but the most generally accepted estimate among scholars is that five hundred thousand years have elapsed since the time when the earliest men of whom actual remains have been found were living creatures. This earliest man was far from being of the same type as the human beings who live upon the earth today; and it was not until perhaps a hundred and fifty thousand years ago that a type of man had developed which in intelligence and capacity was in any way comparable to mankind of the present day.

A specimen of the earliest known man was found in the island of Java, and the remains of our first intelligent human being were found in England and named by the finder *Eoanthropus*, or "Dawn Man." Our knowledge of human types from the time of this "Dawn Man" down to the beginning of written history is more complete, and although most of the ancient remains of human existence have been actually found in Europe, the general opinion of scientists is that the original home of early man was not in that continent but rather far to the east within the continent of Asia.

CHRONOLOGY OF ORIENTAL HISTORY (3000–300 B.C.)

Malaysia (including Indo-China)	India	China	Date	Korea	Japan	Important Western Events
Pygmy culture: bow and arrow; sumpitan; stone implements	Dark-skinned Dravidians the earliest inhabitants	Chinese reach the Yellow River valley	B.C. 3000			Pyramid of Gizeh (Egypt)
		Five Emperors				
		Already civilized with fixed habitations; cultivated lands; systems of government				
Indonesian culture introduced: agriculture (dry taro culture, mountain rice, yams, legumes); pottery; woodworking; houses on ground or in trees		Neolithic remains found in Honan reveal stone and pottery art				
		2356. Yao emperor				
		Shun emperor				
	Caste unknown	2205. *Hsia dynasty*				
		Yu emperor				
		Strong political organization				
Mongoloid culture introduced: irrigation; several crafts including weaving; houses on posts		Silk culture known from prehistoric times	*ca.* 2100			Hammurapi makes Babylon supreme in the Euphrates valley
		Chinese writing known				
		1765. *Shang*, or *Yin*, *dynasty*				
		The earliest bronzes extant date probably from the end of this period				
		Beginning of lyric poetry	1500			Rise of Assyrian power
			ca. 1300			
	Aryan tribes entered in waves, settling the Indus valley; spread eastward, settling the Ganges valley; vedas					
	Phœnician alphabet					
	Sanskrit					
	Brahmanism					

CHRONOLOGY OF ORIENTAL HISTORY (3000–300 B.C.) — CONTINUED

MALAYSIA (including Indo-China)	INDIA	CHINA	DATE	KOREA	JAPAN	IMPORTANT WESTERN EVENTS
		1122. *Chou dynasty* China covered territory between Yangtze and later Great Wall	B.C.	1122. Ki Tse establishes the kingdom of Chosen and introduces Chinese culture		
		Finest bronzes produced	1000	His descendants rule 900 years		David Solomon
		Magnetism known	700			Founding of Rome
		605. Lao-tzu			660. Jimmu Tenno, "first human ruler"	
In Indo-China the Indonesian types already quite well absorbed or exterminated by the Mongoloid	King Darius invades valley of the Indus				Beginning of Japanese history as recorded in the *Kojiki* and *Nihonji*	Babylonian captivity
		Confucius	500			
In Malaysia the types still stratified; Malays along the coast, Indonesians inland, pygmies in the forests and swamps						490. Marathon Peloponnesian War
		Mencius (b. 372)				Socrates (d. 399)
Pallava seamen and merchants from southern India	326–324. Alexander Greek influence in India	Silk exported to Europe				
Chinese visit and settle in Indo-China	321. Chandragupta becomes ruler of Behar					
Early Pallava settlements			300			

The most favored location is the plateau region to the north of the Himalaya Mountains. In the hundreds of thousands of years since human beings first appeared there have been many changes in the geography and climate of this region; there is now a barren desert where our earliest ancestors once were able to find sufficient food and to maintain an existence amidst the dangers and hardships by which they were surrounded. Man, who is today ruling over the other animals and who has become the master of so many of the forces of nature, was at first poorly equipped to fight against his more ferocious neighbors or to capture those that were weaker than himself. Yet here in the place of man's origin his numbers gradually increased.

2. Early Inhabitation of the Earth. No record exists of man's earliest migrations. For many thousand years he left nothing to mark the places where he lived and died; and not until he began to make for himself weapons and implements from materials which did not decay can we begin to record the history of his achievements. The history of the peoples that wandered westward into Europe or southwestward into Asia Minor and into Africa we have already studied. The story of these Western peoples will not concern us until we come down to the events of the last few hundred years — years during which the history of the widely scattered human race has been knit together, by commerce and travel, into the history of the modern world.

3. Eastward Migrations. The search for food led man in all directions from the central Asian plateau. Southward, eastward, and even northward he slowly found his way through the wilderness and around mountain barriers. At some period in the Early Stone Age — perhaps fifty thousand years ago — these wanderers had reached the Indian Ocean on the south and the Pacific on the east. They had gone even beyond the present coasts of the mainland. Geologists tell us that many thousand years ago dry land connected the northeastern corner

of Asia with the northwestern corner of America, and that many of the island groups which now lie off the coast of Asia were then parts of the continent. The peoples who wandered northeastward were therefore able to cross by land from Kamchatka to Alaska, and gradually to occupy the whole of North and South America, while those who went eastward found their way dry-shod into the islands of the present Japanese Empire and were able to occupy, without the use of boats, many parts of the Malay archipelago.

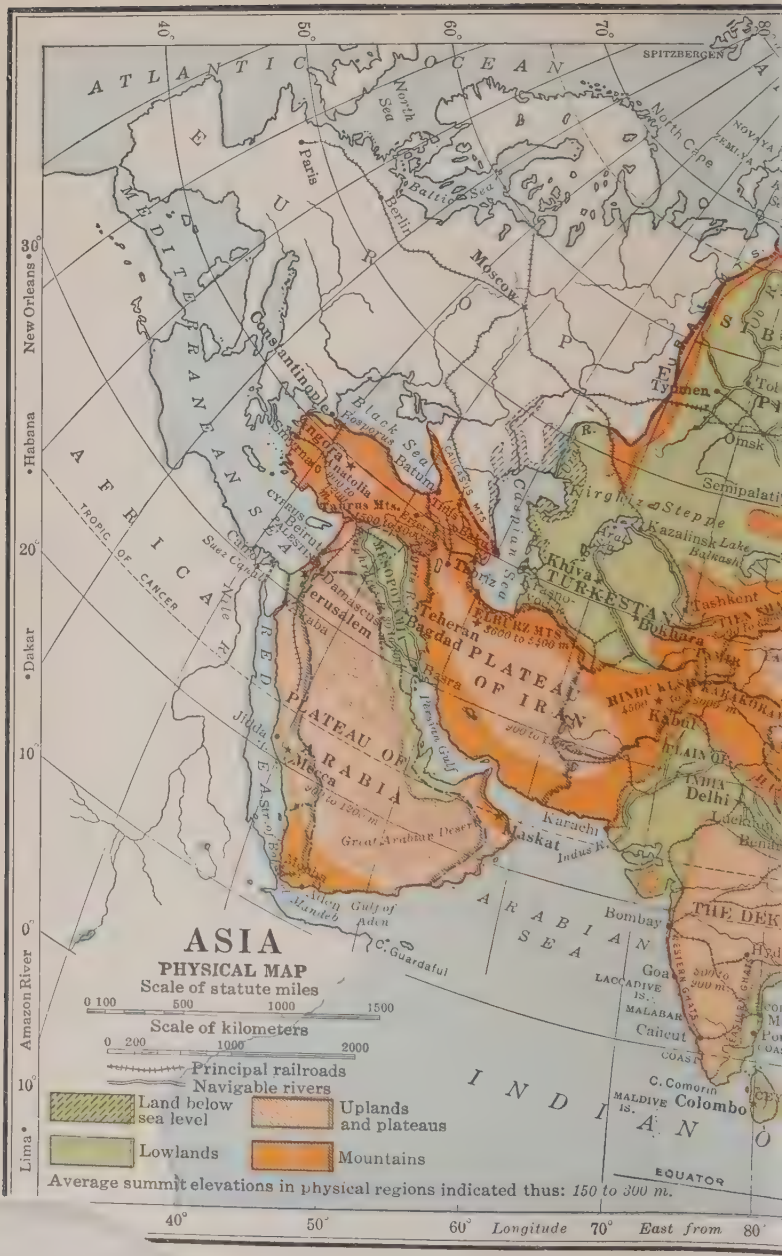
4. Pressure of Migration. The first peoples who made their way into the eastern and southern borderlands of the continent soon found fresh arrivals pressing down upon them from behind. The original cradle of the race was overflowing in all directions. Peoples were coming also from other centers. Some of the early emigrants from man's first home had settled in fertile areas where abundant food was easily obtained; and from these fertile regions thousands of wanderers later went forth to swell the streams of eastern and southern migration. Down to the present time in southern and eastern Asia, just as in Asia Minor and in Europe, constant streams of migration have continued to flow. Sometimes the newcomers were absorbed by the earlier settlers; sometimes the earlier occupants of the land were strong enough to resist the pressure of the newcomers; and sometimes the superior numbers and strength of the later arrivals drove the earlier settlers out of the fertile valleys and forced them either to retreat into the hills or, if they had learned to use boats, to seek new homes in the islands of the sea.

5. Effect of Glacial and Interglacial Periods. A factor that greatly affected the populating of seacoast and island regions has been emphasized recently by geologists. Throughout the periods of migration the level of the sea varied. During the warm periods that came between glacial epochs the level of the sea was increased by great volumes of water from the melting ice. As the sea level rose lowlands were drowned and coast

lines changed; in southern and eastern Asia island groups appeared where formerly a continuous area of dry land had existed. During glacial epochs it was quite possible for people to migrate by land into regions that were later partly submerged. When the rise in sea level occurred they were cut off from the mainland, to which they were unable to return. For this reason we find many of the older types of man preserved in island regions; whereas on the mainland the older types have been exterminated or absorbed by later and more civilized peoples having better weapons and other aids to the establishment of their culture.

6. The Races and their Distribution. As a result of these early movements, eastern Asia and the islands lying along the Asiatic coast were gradually occupied by various groups of peoples. These groups differed from each other in height and build and in the color of their eyes, skin, and hair; so that on the basis of their physical characteristics they have been classified into various races. The order in which the different peoples came is difficult to determine, although it is probable that the earliest arrivals were those whom we now find crowded off into the least desirable parts of the lands in which they live. Thus the Ainu in the northern island of Japan, the Miaotzu of the southern mountains in China, and the Negritos of the mountains of Malaysia seem to have been the earliest arrivals in those countries, although these peoples may, in their turn, have killed off or displaced weaker peoples who had come even earlier.

Sometime before 10,000 B.C. the southern borderlands of Asia, from the Persian Gulf eastward to the shores of the Pacific, were occupied by a dark-skinned race, and a much lighter-skinned people appear to have held the Pacific coast north of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Still other peoples, different in some respects from these two dominant groups, were pushing southward into India and eastward and southeastward


ASIA
PHYSICAL MAP
Scale of statute miles
0 100 500 1000 1500
Scale of kilometers
0 200 1000 2000
Principal railroads
Navigable rivers
Land below sea level
Uplands and plateaus
Lowlands
Mountains
Average summit elevations in physical regions indicated thus: 150 to 300 m.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
EUROPE
AFRICA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RED SEA
ARABIAN SEA
INDIAN OCEAN
PLATEAU OF IRAN
PLATEAU OF ARABIA
TURKESTAN
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Kirghiz Steppe
Great Arabian Desert
Persian Gulf
Gulf of Aden
Suez Canal
Tropic of Cancer
Equator
Longitude East from
Lima
Amazon River
Dakar
Habana
New Orleans
Paris
Berlin
Moscow
Constantinople
Angora
Anatolia
Tabriz
Teheran
Bagdad
Basra
Jerusalem
Damascus
Mecca
Jiuda
Mokha
Aden
Mandeb
Maskat
Karachi
Indus R.
Kabul
Delhi
Bombay
Goa
Calicut
Colombo
Tyumen
Omsk
Semipalatinsk
Kazalinsk
Lake Balkash
Tashkent
Bokhara
Khiva
Kasno-Vodsk
Elburz Mts.
Tabriz
Tiflis
Batum
Bosporus
Caucasus Mts.
Cyprus
Beirut
Alexandria
Cairo
Nile R.
Jerusalem
Arabia
Persian Gulf
Gulf of Aden
C. Guardaful
Laccadive Is.
Malabar
Coast
C. Comorin
Maldive Is.
Western Ghats
Eastern Ghats
Hindu Kush
Kabul
Plain of India
Lucknow
Benares
Hyd
Spitzbergen
North Sea
Baltic Sea
North Cape
Novaya Zemlya
Tobolsk
Ural R.
Aral Sea
Caspian Sea
Tashkent
Kazalinsk
Lake Balkash
Kirghiz Steppe
Tyumen
Omsk
Semipalatinsk
Tobolsk
Ural R.
Aral Sea
Caspian Sea
Tashkent
Bokhara
Tamir
Kabul
Plain of India
Lucknow
Benares
Hyd
Delhi
Karachi
Indus R.
Bombay
Goa
Calicut
Colombo
Western Ghats
Eastern Ghats
Hindu Kush
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Bosporus
Caucasus Mts.
Cyprus
Beirut
Alexandria
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Amazon River
Dakar
Habana
New Orleans
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along the river valleys which spread out like the fingers of an opened hand from the mountains of eastern Tibet.

7. Early Civilization in Central Asia. The peoples who had settled down in the southern and eastern borderlands of Asia were still in a very low state of development, but in the great central Asian plateau definite progress toward civilization had been made. Within the last quarter of a century many expeditions into central Asia for the purpose of learning more about the earliest life of mankind have led to important discoveries. Excavations at Anau, near Askabad, have disclosed traces of people who, as early as 9000 B.C., were living in houses built of sun-baked bricks and were cultivating fields of barley and wheat. Within another thousand years these people had domesticated the ox, the pig, and the sheep, and by 5000 B.C. dogs, camels, and goats had also been made the useful servants of man. Our knowledge of these people and of their achievements is still very slender, but it is almost certain that the civilizations which later began to develop in eastern and southern Asia were made possible by the people whose early progress is now being brought to light.

8. Two Centers of Civilization. Out of the great racial movements discussed above, two general centers of population developed, each accompanied by the growth of a corresponding civilization — one among the lighter-colored peoples of eastern Asia and the other among the darker races of the south, centering around India. Just as in the West, where the early centers of civilization occupied great river valleys — the Nile in Egypt and the Tigris and Euphrates in Asia Minor [1] — so in the East the valley of the Yellow River in China and the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges in India were the seats from which civilization spread. From these two sources, as from Egypt and Mesopotamia, philosophy, religion, science,

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, §§ 15, 32. Ginn and Company, 1924.

and art have spread to all the neighboring peoples. And just as the Greeks, the Romans, and the Teutonic peoples derived their civilizations from the two great Near Eastern sources,[1] so have the Japanese, the Koreans, the Tibetans, and the peoples of Malaysia built up their culture on foundations which were developed in China and India. To the early history of those two countries we will now turn.

QUESTIONS

I. What are the estimates regarding the age of man? Where was a specimen of earliest known man found? What continent do scientists regard as the home of original man? When did it become possible to write the history of man? What caused man to migrate from the central Asian plateau? To what parts of the world did he go? What was the effect of the overcrowding of the original cradle of the human race?

II. Who are regarded as the earliest arrivals in eastern Asia? What two types of people occupied Asia sometime before 10,000 B.C.? Describe the early civilization in central Asia. How did the changes in the level of the sea affect racial development?

III. What were the two great centers of civilization in the East? In what physical environment did they develop?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Compare the geography of Asia with the geography of Europe (including Asia Minor and North Africa). Which presents greater obstacles to the exchange of ideas and the development of civilization?

REFERENCE

WELLS, H. G. *Outline of History*. Throughout this book will be found sections dealing with various phases and periods in the history of the Orient; it will therefore be very useful as a general reference.

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, § 55. Ginn and Company, 1924.

CHAPTER II

CHINA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE CH'IN DYNASTY[1]

3000 B.C.	Early settlers in the Wei valley
2356 B.C.	Yao becomes emperor
2205–1765 B.C.	The Hsia dynasty
1765–1122 B.C.	The Shang, or Yin, dynasty
1122–255 B.C.	The Chou dynasty
605 B.C.	Lao-tzu, author of the *Tao Teh King*
551 B.C.	Confucius

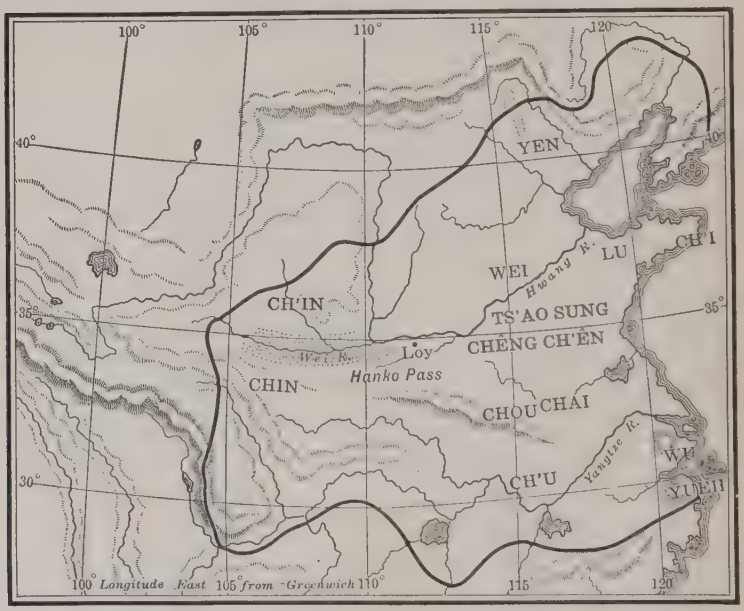
9. Dawn of Chinese Civilization. The older of the two early civilizations that have spread their influence throughout the Far Eastern world grew up in China. About three thousand years before Christ a new people from the west began to appear in the valley of the Wei River, near the point where that stream flows into the mighty Hwang Ho (Yellow River). At the time these settlers reached the Wei valley they had already made considerable progress in civilization. They had flocks and herds of domesticated animals; they understood the art of agriculture; they knew how to build substantial houses; and they had learned to manufacture a variety of useful implements.

In addition to their material civilization the newcomers brought with them well-developed social institutions and ideas of government. Therefore when they reached their new home and began to cultivate the fertile lands of the river valley, they formed an organized state strong enough to defend itself against the attacks of any envious neighbors. Here in the

[1] For all the chapters dealing with China, and also for the chapters relating to the neighboring countries the history of which is connected with that of China, T. F. Carter's chart, "Periods of Chinese History," will be extremely valuable.

valley of the Wei River, gradually reënforced by the arrival of fresh bodies from the west, these settlers laid the foundations of Chinese civilization and of the Chinese state.

10. The Wei Valley Settlers and their Neighbors. As we have seen (§ 6), there were peoples inhabiting the plains of eastern Asia thousands of years before the arrival of these



China in the Days of Confucius

settlers in the Wei valley. The earlier inhabitants were far less civilized than the newcomers: the Wei settlers possessed flocks and had learned to till the soil, whereas the older occupants of the region depended entirely upon hunting and fishing to supply themselves with food. As time went on the more civilized farmer gradually displaced the hunter. Many of the less advanced peoples accepted the civilization of their new neighbors, submitted to the government which they established, and began to intermarry with them. Other tribes,

although borrowing from the civilization of the intruders, stubbornly resisted their rule and were gradually pushed from their lands by the expanding state in the valley of the Wei. When these tribes were forced from their homes they carried with them the newly acquired civilization and spread it in the regions where they migrated. Still other peoples, resisting the civilization as well as the government of the growing state, withdrew into the more mountainous parts of the country; here they long continued to live the lives of wild hunters, occasionally swooping down to plunder the towns and villages of the peaceful farming people who occupied the lowlands.

11. Beginnings of Chinese History. Chinese myths and legends go back thousands of years before the beginning of what may be called history; but the assumption of the imperial title by Yao in 2356 B.C. brings us at least to the threshold of historic times. During the centuries of expansion into the regions around the original Wei valley settlement the Chinese people had been held together by a feeling of common ancestry; under Yao they seem to have been united, for the first time, into a more formal state. It would be a mistake, however, to think of China as being at that time a modern empire or even a powerful state, such as those which were developing in Egypt and in Mesopotamia.[1] The Chinese, being farmers, had little need for a powerful government, and their early emperors were little more than patriarchal heads of a united people; the power of the Chinese emperors developed very slowly. Yao and his immediate successor, Shun, are described in the *Shu King* (the "Book of History") as perfect rulers; but the length assigned to their reigns makes it impossible for us to accept the accounts as authentic history.

12. The First Two Dynasties: Hsia and Shang. Yao had chosen as his successor the most capable man in the country, one who was not related to him. Shun, following this wise

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday,* chaps. ii, iii. Ginn and Company, 1924.

example, chose Yu to succeed him as emperor. With Yu, however, the imperial title became hereditary; for nearly four and a half centuries after his accession, in 2205 B.C., the throne was occupied by Yu and his descendants. This first dynastic line of emperors, which lasted until 1765 B.C., is known as the Hsia dynasty. The last of the Hsia rulers, because of his cruelty, was overthrown by a revolution, and a new line of emperors — the Shang, or Yin, dynasty — was placed on the throne. This second dynasty held the power for six hundred and forty-three years. At first its emperors were strong and capable men; but its later rulers became tyrannical, and in 1122 B.C. this dynasty suffered the same fate that had overtaken its predecessor. In that year a revolt overthrew the last of the Shang emperors, and the leader of the successful revolt ascended the imperial throne as Wu Wang, the first ruler of the Chou dynasty.

Bronze Bell, Shang Dynasty (1765–1122 B.C.)
Original in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

The twelve centuries, and more, between the accession of Yao and the establishment of the Chou dynasty must be regarded as the semihistorical age in China. Except for the reigns of Yao and Shun, the dates during this period are probably accurate; but the supposed history of the period was not written down until long after the events which it records. During this semihistorical period there had been a steady expan-

sion of the Chinese state and a gradual development of China's political institutions. The maintenance of internal order and the defense of the country against external foes had made necessary a gradual increase in the power of the central government. The Chinese people still opposed — and throughout their long history continued to oppose — the establishment of a despotic monarchy; but the last rulers of the Shang dynasty were far from being simple patriarchal chieftains like Yao and Shun.

13. The Chou Dynasty (1122–255 B.C.). With the establishment of the Chou dynasty Chinese history is on solid ground. The Chinese state now occupied almost all the territory between the Yangtze River and the present line of the Great Wall, and contained a population of about ten million people. During the reign of Wu Wang, the emperor's brother, Chou Kung, compiled a code of rules and regulations, known as the *Chou Li*, which should guide the officials of the state in the proper performance of their duties. The *Chou Li*, indeed, may be called the constitution of the Chinese Empire, since it gave form to the machinery by which the empire was governed whenever, after that time, it was united under a strong line of rulers.

Even during the Chou dynasty, however, Chou Kung's careful regulations were upset by a mistaken policy adopted by the founder of the dynasty. In his revolt against the last Shang emperor, Wu Wang had been assisted by many other prominent leaders, whom he decided to reward by making them subordinate rulers over the various parts of his empire. So long as Wu Wang's successors were capable monarchs this arrangement did no harm; but weak emperors soon began to ascend the imperial throne, and during their reigns the local rulers were able to make themselves practically independent kings. By the eighth century B.C. the emperors had lost almost all power over these lords, and China had become broken up into a number of independent warring states. During the period

from the eighth century B.C. to the end of the Chou dynasty, China passed through one of her worst periods of political disorganization. This unhappy condition continued for nearly five hundred years, until the country was again united by a powerful leader who succeeded in seizing the imperial title.

14. Philosophers of the Chou Dynasty. It was during this age of corruption and disorder that China produced the great philosophers whose teachings have had such powerful influence upon the thought of the nation. The two greatest of these teachers were Confucius and Lao-tzu, but many others followed these two; some endeavoring to expand and explain the thoughts of Confucius and Lao-tzu, others expounding entirely independent theories.

15. Lao-tzu (605–531 B.C.). The earlier of China's two great philosophers was Lao-tzu, whose teachings are recorded in a single small book known as the *Tao Teh King*. Lao-tzu believed that there was an eternal spirit of righteousness which he called Tao, and that man could attain true virtue, Teh, only by putting himself in absolute harmony with this spirit. He believed that forms and ceremonies were utterly useless and that humility of spirit was necessary for the man who wished to find Tao. Because of the resemblances between the teachings of Lao-tzu and those of Buddhism, the Buddhist missionaries in China later used many expressions from the *Tao Teh King* in translating their writings into Chinese. About two hundred years after the death of Lao-tzu his teachings were carefully elaborated by the philosopher Chuang-tzu, who adhered closely to the spirit of the *Tao Teh King*. Later centuries, however, have seen Lao-tzu's teachings greatly corrupted by those who professed to worship Tao. These "Taoists," as they are called, devoted themselves to the study of magic and to the worship of all sorts of demons and spirits.

16. Confucius (551–479 B.C.). Confucius, who was born about fifty years later than Lao-tzu, is known to the Chinese as Kung-fu-tzu, which means "Philosopher Kung." He was

born in the state of Lu, which was located in the southern part of the present province of Shantung. At an early age Confucius began to devote himself to the study of the ancient writings, and he gained such a reputation for scholarship that he was given official appointment in his native state, where he finally rose to the post of prime minister. During his tenure of office the state of Lu was well governed and prosperous, but when the ruler gave himself up to a life of pleasure, Confucius resigned his post and went into voluntary exile to show his disapproval. The rest of his life was spent in wandering from state to state, endeavoring to recall men to the virtues of earlier days. Like all great teachers, Confucius believed that reforms in the state could be brought about only by reforming men's moral natures; therefore he gathered around him a band of disciples to whom he explained his ideas of right behavior.

Confucius was not a religious teacher; he was a social reformer. He merely tried to teach certain rules of conduct which would put an end to the injustice, corruption, and civil disorders which he saw throughout the country; these rules, he believed, could be found by studying the good examples set by the great men of the past. Therefore Confucius called himself "a transmitter, not an originator."

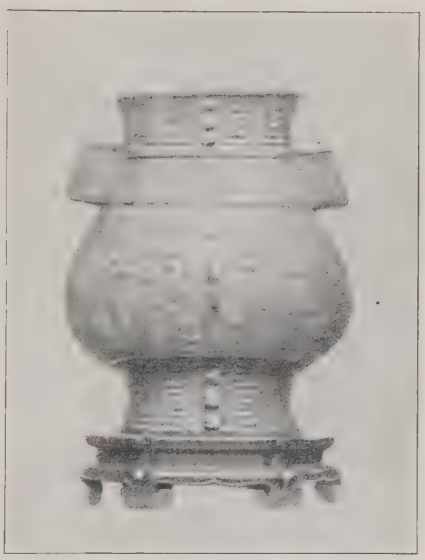
17. Confucianism and the "Classics." While Confucius was alive his teaching was little appreciated. "No intelligent monarch arises," said he a few days before his death; "there is not one in the Empire that will make me his guide." But his labors were not wasted; after his death his work was continued by the small band of devoted followers whom he had gathered around him. Soon the ruler and the people of his native state began to realize that a great man, teaching great moral truths, had lived among them; and gradually the value of Confucius's teaching began to be recognized in the most distant parts of the empire. With the spread of this recognition came reverence for the dead teacher and a growing respect for his teachings.

Temples were erected in his honor; sacrifices were offered to the spirit of the "Perfect Sage"; and Confucianism, the philosophy of Confucius, was accepted as the embodiment of all truth. Great care was taken to preserve the substance of his teachings. To the books which Confucius himself had written or edited there were added a number of books in which his disciples recorded his sayings or explained his ideas. These books, known to us as the Confucian Classics,[1] occupy in China a position similar to that which the Bible fills in Christian lands.

18. Influence of Confucianism. For twenty-four centuries the moral philosophy of Confucius has been accepted by the Chinese people as the one true guide to right conduct for the individual and for the state. During the greater part of this time all aspirants to official position were compelled to pass rigid examinations which required a thorough education in the Confucian Classics. Thus Confucianism, besides furnishing a guide for the daily life of the people, has supplied the moral standards by which the Chinese Empire has been governed. Nor did the influence of Confucianism stop at the frontiers of China. In Korea, in Japan, and in the states of Indo-China the Great Sage of China was long regarded with high honor. In all these countries scholars devoted themselves to the study of Confucian philosophy, and Confucian ideas of ethics and of social morality contributed toward the establishment of well-ordered society.

[1] The Confucian Classics are divided into the "Five Classics" and the "Four Books." The Five Classics are the "Book of Changes," the "Book of History," the "Book of Poetry," the "Book of Rites," and the "Spring and Autumn Annals." Only the last of these was composed by Confucius; but the others were gathered together and rewritten by him, and he probably added a good deal to them in doing this. The Four Books are the "Analects," the sayings of Confucius as recorded by his disciples; the "Great Learning," written after Confucius's death (and probably from his notes) by his disciple Tseng-tzu; the "Doctrine of the Mean," written by his great-grandson Tzu-ssu; and the "Book of Mencius," written in the fourth century B.C. by Mencius, who is regarded as the most brilliant of Confucius's successors.

19. Chinese Written Language. When the teachings of Confucius began to spread beyond the frontiers of China certain other features of Chinese culture were also carried to the non-Chinese peoples of the Orient. Perhaps the most important of these gifts from China to her neighbors was the art of writing. Chinese traditions attribute the invention of writing to the legendary emperor Fu Hsi, whose reign is supposed to have begun in 2852 B.C. Whenever it was that the invention of writing actually occurred, the art was probably very old by the beginning of the Chou dynasty, and it had certainly been in use for centuries before the Confucian Classics were written.



A Bronze Vase of the Chou Dynasty (1122–255 B.C.)

Original in the National Museum, Peking

We have already seen that the earliest form of writing among the Egyptians was *picture writing*,[1] and that the Egyptians gradually developed the plan of using some of their pictures to represent *sounds* instead of *objects*. This use of symbols to represent the sounds of spoken words is called phonetic writing, and from the Egyptian invention there came the Phœnician alphabet, from which were derived the alphabetic writings of Europe and of India. Unlike the Egyptians, the Chinese never adopted phonetic writing. Instead of using symbols to

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, §§ 11–13. Ginn and Company, 1924.

represent the sounds of words, the Chinese have developed many thousand symbols to represent different ideas; this is called ideographic writing. These ideographs, when they came to be used by peoples whose spoken languages were different, were called by different sounds but always stood for the same ideas. Even in the Western world we can find some examples of ideographs, such as the Arabic numerals, 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., which have different names in different countries, but which have the same meanings wherever they are used.

Many of the Chinese ideographs are merely simple pictures of the concrete objects which they represent, but thousands of others represent ideas of which it would be impossible to make a picture — such as love, beauty, justice, virtue, etc. In working out the ideographs which would convey such abstract ideas, the Chinese showed great ingenuity. Thus, for example, the ideograph for "bright" is 明, and was formed by combining 日, "sun," and 月, "moon," the two great sources of light. "Good" is represented by 好, which is composed of 女, "woman," and 子, "child," a mother with her child in her arms being regarded as an appropriate picture of goodness.

At the time of Confucius paper had not been invented, and writing was done upon thin slips of bamboo or wood. For books bamboo was generally used, the separate slips being perforated and strung together with silk cords or with leather thongs.

20. The Rise of Ch'in. For about a century after the death of Confucius there seemed to be no one sufficiently strong to bring order out of the existing chaos. During the fourth century B.C., however, this condition began to change. The duchy of Ch'in, occupying the greater part of modern Shensi and Kansu, began to extend its power over the neighboring states, and the Duke of Ch'in gradually became the most powerful vassal of the Chou emperor. At first the dukes of this powerful state were satisfied with their position and allowed the emperor to retain his title and his throne, but in 255 B.C. a duke more

ambitious than his predecessors overthrew the last of the Chou dynasty. He now seated himself upon the imperial throne as the first monarch of a new dynasty, the name of which, Ch'in, has been preserved for us — for some curious reason — in the name by which the country is now known to the outside world.

QUESTIONS

I. When did civilization first appear in China? Where was the center of the earliest Chinese civilization? What relations existed between those civilized people and the other tribes?

II. When does Chinese history begin? Why are the earlier periods called semihistorical? What changes took place in China during this period? What regulations were made about the beginning of the Chou dynasty? Why did these regulations not succeed at the time?

III. Who were the two great philosophers of the Chou dynasty? What was the purpose of Confucius? What are the Confucian Classics? Discuss the influence of Confucius.

IV. How does Chinese writing differ from other existing writing? What is an ideograph? What class of words are most difficult to write in picture writing? On what material were the earliest Chinese books written?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Compare the political condition in China during the last century of the Chou dynasty with the condition in Europe after the age of Charlemagne.

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CHAPTER III

INDIA BEFORE THE INVASION OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

1500 ? B.C. Aryans appear in India
512 ? B.C. Darius the Great extends his power to the Indus valley

21. The "Aborigines" of India. About the beginning of the second millennium B.C. (that is, about 2000 B.C.) India was inhabited mainly by a people who are now called Dravidians and who still form the larger part of the population of southern India. In the northern part of the peninsula there were, even at that early time, two other races, both of which were related to the present peoples of central Asia. Although these three groups are customarily spoken of as "aborigines," almost all the tribes had legends of their forefathers' having originally migrated from the north. These early inhabitants of India were in a low state of civilization, but they had developed some tribal organization, and had a religion which consisted mainly in the worship of demons and malignant spirits.

22. The Coming of the Aryans. Sometime between 2000 and 1000 B.C. (probably about midway between these two dates) a new people began to come down from the north and to settle in the fertile plains of the Indus River. These newcomers were the Aryans, a people who came from the region of the Caspian Sea; they were related to the peoples who had already been pushing their way down toward the "Fertile Crescent"[1] and westward into Europe. Compared with the aborigines of India, the Aryan invaders were already well advanced in

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, §§ 32, 49–54. Ginn and Company, 1924.

civilization. They had long since passed from the hunting to the pastoral stage, and had begun to cultivate the soil and to produce regular crops. Therefore when they reached India they settled down in permanent homes instead of wandering around the country. The Aryans also had religious ideas which were more advanced than the ideas of the earlier inhabitants. Instead of propitiating the evil spirits, they made offerings and prayers, and sang hymns of praise to the "bright gods" of nature. Not until long after they had reached India did the newcomers acquire the art of writing; but their language, known as Sanskrit, contains many words which closely resemble equivalent words in the languages of Europe.[1]

23. The Aryan Expansion. In the rich plains of the Indus valley the Aryan population naturally increased and soon began to spread out into other parts of northern India. The original owners were driven out of those portions of the land which were best suited for agriculture, and the Aryans gradually occupied the Plain of the Ganges as well as that of the Indus. This expansion, however, did not result in the establishment of a single powerful state. The Aryans of India — or the Hindus, as we can now call them — had little idea of political organization. Each separate community was completely independent under its own local ruler, and the only unity among these numerous petty states was the unity which came from the possession of a common religion. Sometimes an ambitious chieftain would succeed in extending his power over a number of neighboring communities, but such unions seldom lasted long after the death of the ruler who had brought them together. In time the relations between the Aryan Hindus and the aboriginal peoples improved. The aborigines adopted the religion and civilization of the newcomers, and a certain amount of intermarriage between the races took place.

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, p. 23. Ginn and Company, 1924.

24. Caste and Brahmanism. During this period of Hindu expansion there began to appear clearly defined social groups among the people. At first the population was merely divided up into four classes: (1) the priests and scholars; (2) the nobles and warriors; (3) the farmers and merchants; (4) the slaves and serfs. As time went on, however, the barriers between these groups became more and more impassable and the groups slowly developed into the rigid social divisions which are now known as castes. From the priestly caste, or "Brahmans," has come the name "Brahmanism," which is given to the Hindu religion. For caste has become the most important fact in the religion of the Hindus. Each caste has strict regulations with regard to the kinds of food that can be eaten by its members; each has its own special customs and ceremonies in connection with birth, marriage, and death. No one is permitted to marry outside his caste, while contact with a person of lower caste, or even with any object that has been touched by a low-caste person, is regarded as defiling and requires an elaborate ceremony of purification. Starting with four, the number of castes steadily increased until the Hindu people were divided into thousands of groups which were held apart by strict rules and prohibitions. It is easy to see how the caste system of Brahmanism has hindered the growth of any strong national feeling in India.

25. The *Vedas*. The hymns to the gods of nature, which the Aryans brought with them into India, constitute the oldest literature of the Hindu people. For many centuries they were unwritten, and were handed down from father to son in the priestly "Brahman" families. When the art of writing reached India, these hymns were written down in books, which are known as the *Vedas* and which are the sacred writings of the Brahman religion. The most important of these sacred writings is the *Rig-Veda*, which contains more than a thousand *mantras*, or hymns. Many of the same hymns are contained in the *Yajur-Veda* and the *Sama-Veda*. A fourth *Veda*, called

the *Atharva-Veda*, seems to be made up of much later hymns, which were probably composed after the Aryans had settled in India and had begun to adopt some of the religious ideas of the aborigines.

26. Contact between India and the Mediterranean World. It is chiefly through the contact between the Hindus and the peoples farther to the west that we are able to obtain accurate knowledge of events in early Indian history. From the west the Hindus received the Phœnician alphabet [1] and were thus able to reduce their sacred literature to written form; but they never worked out a satisfactory system of reckoning dates, nor did they ever develop the art of writing history. Thus the history of India has to be built up out of fragments which can be found in the histories of those countries with whom she came into contact. In recent times the discovery of inscriptions, coins, monuments, and works of art, as well as of traditions in recorded literature, has contributed much to our knowledge of India's history. About 512 B.C. the Persians extended their power eastward into Bactria, and a little later Darius the Great (the same king whose army was defeated by the Greeks at Marathon) [2] established his authority for a short time in the Indus valley. For a century and a half after this brief period of Persian sway the only connection between India and the Mediterranean world was maintained by the merchants who carried on their trade in the face of dangers by land and by sea.

27. Aryan India in the Fourth Century B.C. While our knowledge of Aryan India down to the fourth century before the Christian Era is very incomplete, we have seen that the Hindus by that time had made great progress in the development of civilization. The rich plains of the Indus and the Ganges valleys were occupied by an industrious people, whose prosperity is shown by the magnificent buildings that adorned their nu-

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, § 67. Ginn and Company, 1924. [2] See ibid. §§ 78, 79.

merous cities and by the fact that Greek, Persian, and Arab merchants from the west faced the terrors of the sea in order to bring their cargoes of merchandise to this eastern land. In addition to their material prosperity, the Indians were remarkable for their cultural development, especially in religious thought. The Aryan Hindus were always deeply interested in matters of religion, and produced many teachers who devoted themselves to the consideration of spiritual questions. Early in the sixth century B.C., indeed, there appeared among these teachers one whose doctrines were destined to spread throughout the Orient and to become the religion of a great part of the human race. The story of this teacher will be told when we take up (in Chapter V) the later history of India.

QUESTIONS

I. What peoples are still found in India who inhabited the country as early as 2000 B.C.? Who were the Aryans? Compare the Aryans with the "aborigines" of India. What is meant by "aborigines"? Describe the expansion of the Aryans.

II. How would you define "caste"? What were some of the matters which were regulated by caste laws? What effect do you think caste has had upon the present political condition of India? What are the *Vedas*?

III. Where do we get much of our knowledge of the early history of India? From whom do both Indians and Europeans derive their alphabets?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

How did the religious ideas of the Aryans in India differ from the religious ideas of the Greeks?

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CHAPTER IV

POPULATION OF INDO-CHINA AND MALAYSIA IN PREHISTORIC TIMES

28. Three Primary Divisions. Three divisions are to be made in the racial population of Malaysia before the time of historic influences. These divisions are, first, certain pygmy races that seem to have been the most ancient inhabitants of the archipelago but which today exist in a pure state only in a few isolated spots around the borders of the region; second, a race known as the Indonesian, which appears everywhere to have preceded the later Mongoloid races in the archipelago; and third, these Mongoloid races themselves, who swept down over the region of Indo-China and out through the islands of Malaysia in the course of their general exodus from central Asia (see §§ 3, 6).

Differences between these original races were as follows: the pygmies were distinguished by short stature, the term being applied probably to peoples under five feet in height; the Indonesians represented, on the contrary, the tallest race that has entered the region; and the later Mongoloid peoples were all of intermediate stature.

29. The Pygmies. Originally three quite different types of pygmy must have been represented. The first was a short, dark-skinned, frizzly-haired type, known today as the Negrito, who undoubtedly represented a primitive branch of the great Negro race; the second was a hairy, curly-headed type somewhat allied to the native Australians of today, which we may term the Australoid; and the third was a slight, round-headed, hairless-bodied, brown-skinned type of man corresponding to the taller Mongoloid type that came later. This

third type of pygmy has survived today in much larger numbers than have the others, and we may well term it the proto-Malay.

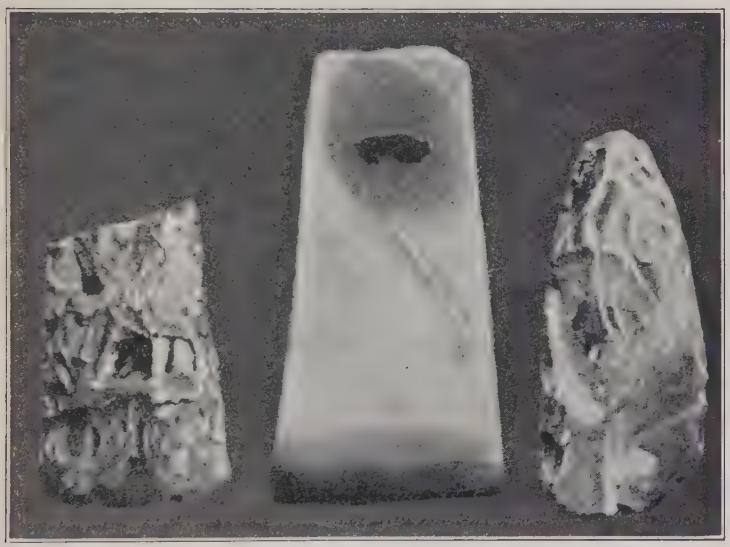
30. The Indonesians and the Malays. We find also among the Indonesians evidence of more than one type. The name "Indonesian" was first applied to the tall, relatively fair-skinned peoples of Sumatra, who showed no trace of Mongoloid mixture. Later, however, the same name was applied to all the tall Mongoloid peoples throughout Malaysia, who were much darker skinned and of much heavier build than the former type. There are actually two types of people in Malaysia to whom the name "Indonesian" is now commonly applied. As we shall see later, remnants of these types are scattered over all Malaysia, though the great majority have become mixed with the later Mongoloid races to form the general population of areas today known as Malay.

Necklace of Colored Beads from a Prehistoric Grave in Eastern Java

It is undoubtedly true that the Mongoloid peoples who originally swept down into Indo-China and Malaysia started out as racial types somewhat comparable to the remnants of those races still found in the central Asian region. As they continued their southward migrations they did not long remain true to type, because the regions into which they entered were already

inhabited by the taller races we have termed Indonesian. As the Mongoloid migrations moved southward and eastward a constantly increasing degree of mixture with the native Indonesian came about.

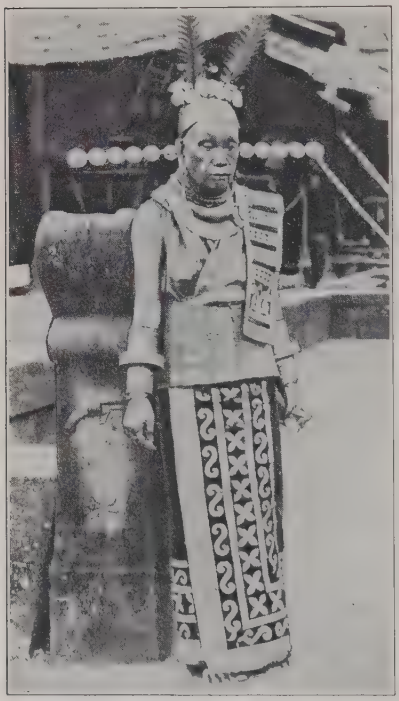
31. Stratification of Types. In general, throughout all the largest islands of Malaysia we still find a rough stratification



STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM PREHISTORIC GRAVES IN JAVA
Similar implements have been found in the Philippines

of population that has doubtless persisted throughout the historical period from the time the original types entered the archipelago. Generally speaking, the coastal regions are occupied by the people of Mongoloid blood and by those who have entered within historical times, while the interior is occupied by people of decidedly mixed-Indonesian characteristics, which grow stronger and stronger as we approach the mountains and the headwaters of the largest rivers. Around the headwaters of these streams and in the remote forests and

swamps there are to be found, even at the present time, a few survivals of the old primitive and pygmy types.



A Mas Woman of the Dutch East Indies

These people, once purely Indonesian, have been modified by intermarriage with their Malay neighbors. They resemble some of the mountain peoples of northern Luzon in the Philippines

Two thousand years ago, when Hindu culture began to enter Malaysia, this stratification must have been even more pronounced. There are a number of very good reasons for believing that at the beginning of the Christian Era only the coastal regions and lower river valleys were occupied by Malays (that is, people of mixed Mongoloid and Indonesian blood) and that the Indonesians of the interior were still pure in so far as any mixture with the Mongoloid types was concerned. In Burma and Indo-China, on the other hand, the absorption or extermination of the pure Indonesian types began earlier and was much more thorough, so that in those regions today there remain only a few scattered and isolated groups among which any trace of Indonesian language and culture can be found.

32. Culture of the Three Types. The extent to which Indonesian speech and cultural traits have survived in the Malaysian islands, however, is doubtless very great, though not until recently have serious attempts been made to isolate the earlier

Indonesian culture and to distinguish it from that introduced by the Mongoloid people. A few items may be of interest. The bow and arrow were probably everywhere derived from the Negrito, while the blowgun, or *sumpitan*, was everywhere derived from the proto-Malay type. The use of stone implements in general was probably commonest among the Australoid type; hence the distribution of such stone implements indicates, to some extent, the spread of that type. Of Indonesian traits there are many more survivals that can be easily identified. It is quite certain, for instance, that the first of the two Indonesian types possessed no pottery; neither did it know how to weave or to make baskets. Whereas none of the pygmies knew anything of agriculture, a crude form of dry agriculture in forest clearings was introduced by the early Indonesians. The later dark-skinned Indonesian type certainly introduced taro culture; it is probable, however, that they used only the dry taro and not the irrigated type. It may be that they also introduced mountain rice and a variety of cultivated yams and legumes. It is certain that they introduced the art of pot-making. Wood-carving and

A Tree-House, Pahang, Malay Peninsula

Houses of this type were built by the early Indonesians

woodworking were developed by the Indonesians; and tools and weapons of hard wood were in general use among them. In general, the art of weaving and basket-making was introduced by the later Mongoloid types, who also brought in the art of irrigated agriculture.

It also seems certain that none of the Indonesian peoples built houses elevated on the land or on piles in the water.

MALAY HOUSE BUILT ON POSTS

From very early times the Malays have erected buildings of this type

Their houses were small huts built either directly on the ground or in the branches of trees, as some of the pure Indonesian peoples in Borneo, Mindanao, and northern Luzon still build them. The house built on piles in the water or elevated on posts on the land is certainly a Malay introduction.

It seems doubtful if any form of metal-working was known among any of these peoples before the beginning of the Christian Era, but as soon as contact with the Hindus and Chinese began metals were everywhere used. The cultural influence from these two sources is explained in succeeding chapters.

QUESTIONS

What primary divisions are made in the racial population of Malaysia? Describe each. Show the differences among them; the geographical distribution of each; the cultural attainments of each. Show also the process of racial amalgamation.

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

What are the principal causes for the present "stratification of types" in Malaysia?

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PART II. DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE AND GROWTH OF EMPIRES

(From the Fourth Century B.C. to the End of the Twelfth Century of the Christian Era)

CHAPTER V

INDIA FROM THE TIME OF ALEXANDER TO THE MOHAMMEDAN INVASIONS

560?–480? B.C.	Gautama Buddha
326–324 B.C.	Alexander the Great in India
321–297 B.C.	Chandragupta
272–232 B.C.	Reign of Asoka
261 B.C.	Asoka becomes a convert to Buddhism
A.D. 700?–750	Arabs control Indus valley
A.D. 1001	Mahmud of Ghazni conquers Peshawar

NORTHERN INDIA

33. Alexander the Great. In 330 B.C. Alexander the Great, after having made himself the master of the Persian Empire, started eastward upon his ambitious campaign of exploration and conquest.[1] After more than three years of marching here and there through the regions between the Caspian Sea and the Himalayas, he finally led his army into the plains of the northern Indus. For two years (326–324 B.C.) the Macedonian conqueror remained in the Indus valley, summoning the local rulers to humble themselves before him, confirming the rights of all those who submitted, and conquering those who pre-

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, §§ 103–108. Ginn and Company, 1924.

sumed to ignore his call. By 324 B.C. Alexander had marched down the Indus to its mouth and had established his supremacy over the entire region. He now planned to cross over into the Ganges valley and continue his conquests; but his troops refused to follow him in this new undertaking. Six years had already elapsed since they had started eastward from Ecbatana, while it had been ten years since his Macedonian soldiers first crossed the Hellespont to fight against the Persians; the troops demanded that they be led homeward, and Alexander was forced to yield.

Departing from India, Alexander left behind him governors and viceroys to rule the country in his name, but with his death, in 323 B.C., the empire which he had built up fell to pieces; his recently conquered Indian subjects soon overthrew the foreign rulers and regained their independence. Yet the influence of Alexander's invasion was far more lasting than had been the influence of the earlier Persian attack (§ 26). The Greek colonies which he had established at various points along his route remained as permanent centers of Greek influence, and the commerce between Greece and India long continued to flourish. The effect of Greek art became apparent in the subsequent art of the Hindus, and this influence was transmitted later by India to the other parts of the Orient. Most important, perhaps, is the fact that, after the days of Alexander, Greek travelers and writers frequently visited these newly discovered regions, and their accounts of affairs in the country help to fix accurate dates for later events of Indian history.

34. The Empire of Asoka. When the Indian people first broke away from the crumbling empire of Alexander, they naturally returned to their former condition of division into a great number of independent states. But the example of the Western conqueror soon found an imitator in the region lying east of the Indus. In 321 B.C. a rebel named Chandragupta Maurya made himself ruler over the state of Behar in

CHRONOLOGY OF ORIENTAL HISTORY (300 B.C.–A.D. 1200)

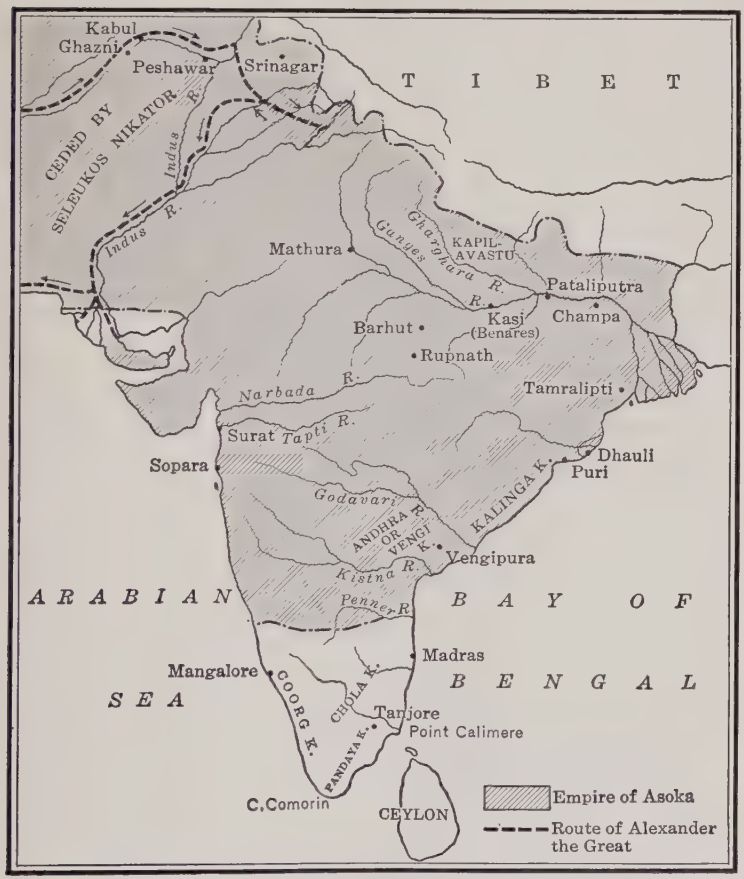
MALAYSIA (including Indo-China)	INDIA	CHINA	DATE	KOREA	JAPAN	IMPORTANT WESTERN EVENTS
Annam conquered by the Chinese			B.C. 300			
	272. Asoka ascends the throne Buddhism established on a firm basis					264. First Punic War; Rome and Carthage
		Ch'in dynasty 246–209. Shih Huang Ti				
	232. Asoka's death	212. Burning of the Books 204. Great Wall completed				218–201. Second Punic War
		Han dynasty	200			
				193. Last descendant of Ki Tse driven from the throne		
		140–86. Wu Ti				146. Third Punic War; destruction of Carthage
Annam incorporated into the Chinese Empire		Contact with Japan and Rome		108. Northern Korea conquered by China		Conquest of Greece by Rome
			100			
				Three Kingdoms Silla Koguryu Pakche	Yamato still of small extent	Julius Cæsar
Five important Pallava colonies had been established, including:		Literary civil-service examinations				Christ
			A.D.			
Cambodia		Buddhism introduced				
Sri-Vishaya in Sumatra		Printing from wooden blocks				
Southern Malay Peninsula			100			
Central Java			200			
Eastern Borneo		Three Kingdoms			Chinese civilization enters Yamato from Korea	

MALAYSIA (including Indo-China)	INDIA	CHINA	DATE	KOREA	JAPAN	IMPORTANT WESTERN EVENTS
250. City of Pandurañgan founded in Champa (Annam)			A.D.			
		Arabs establish regular trade at Canton	300		Yamato greatly extended	Constantine
The Chinese writer Fa Hsien mentions Pallava settlements in Sumatra			400		405. Introduction of Chinese writing from Korea	Europe invaded by the Huns from Asia
435. Kambodja founded	Pallavas dominate southern India	Hui Sheng reaches Mexico (?)				Fall of Rome
Sumatran states become Buddhist			500		552. Buddhism introduced from Korea and finally becomes the court religion	
Expansion of the empire of Sri-Vishaya (Eastern Java remains Brahman)	Arab (Mohammedan) invasion of northern India	618–907. *Tang dynasty*	600		593–621. Shotoku Taishi	622. Mohammed. The Hejira
		635. Nestorian Christianity introduced into China		660. Chinese conquer Pakche	Direct intercourse with China	
				668. Chinese conquer Koguryu	645. Taikwa Reform	
			700			
Angkor begun by Jaya-varman I		751. Chinese teach papermaking to the Arabs		Silla sends tribute to China and rules united Korea		
					710. Capital at Nara	
Great building period in Java	Beginning of Pallava decline				People of Yamato begin to call their country Nippon	732. Battle of Tours
				Decline of Silla. Wars and disorder	Art, literature, and political ideas from China	
					794. Capital at Kyoto	
					Tea introduced from China	
800–1200. Great building period in Indo-China			800			800. Charlemagne becomes Emperor
		Rise of Khitan Tartars				

CHRONOLOGY OF ORIENTAL HISTORY (300 B.C.–A.D. 1200) — CONTINUED

MALAYSIA (including Indo-China)	INDIA	CHINA	DATE	KOREA	JAPAN	IMPORTANT WESTERN EVENTS
			A.D. 900			
		Sung dynasty		935. Wang Kien reunites Korea		
968. Annam becomes independent		960. Wang An-shih			Fujiwara domination	
						962. Otto the Great, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire
	Mahmud of Ghazni invades North India		1000		Cloistered Emperors	Norman conquest of England
1044. Anawrata becomes ruler of Burma	The Sultans of Ghazni rule North India	Kin Tartars Southern Sungs	1100			1096. The First Crusade
Empire of Sri-Vishaya at greatest height	1186. Afghans gain control of India	1162. Genghis born			*Taira domination*	
Beginning of Siam					Yoritomo	
			1200		1192. *Kamakura Shogunate*	
					Reintroduction of tea	
					First manufacture of fine pottery	

the Ganges valley, and established his capital at Pataliputra.[1] By the time of his death, in 297 B.C., Chandragupta had estab-



THE EMPIRE OF ASOKA

lished his rule over a great part of northern India and had founded a line of monarchs known as the Mauryan dynasty. In 272 B.C. the throne came into the possession of Chandra-

[1] Modern Patna.

gupta's grandson, Asoka, who in a comparatively short time united practically the whole Indian peninsula into a single empire. Asoka even brought under his control much territory lying to the west and northwest of India proper; in 256 B.C. he entered into a treaty with Antiochus Theos, ruler of the Asiatic portion of Alexander's dismembered empire. At the time of Asoka's death, in 232 B.C., his dominions extended westward to the borders of Persia; this empire held together for only about half a century after the death of its great ruler, its break-up being followed by the reëstablishment of a multitude of petty, independent states, each under its local ruler.

35. Gautama Buddha, "Sakyamuni" (560?–480? B.C.).[1] The Hindu people are naturally inclined to religious speculation and India has always been a land of many religious sects, each established by some teacher who has emphasized the importance of some particular doctrine or practice. About two centuries before the time of Alexander's invasion one of these sects came into existence in a little state of northern India situated just inside the borders of the present state of Nepal. The founder of this sect, or rather the teacher whose doctrines became the foundation of the new religious body, was Gautama, the son and heir of a rajah of Kapilavastu. Gautama is often called Sakyamuni ("Sage of Sakya") from the name of the tribe to which he belonged; usually, however, he is called Gautama Buddha, which means Gautama "the Enlightened," and the religion which has been founded upon his teachings is called Buddhism ("Enlightenment").

Gautama had been brought up in luxury and had been given a good education, but instead of being satisfied with the pleasures which surrounded him, he brooded over the mysteries of human life and over the problems of sin, of sickness, of suffering, and of death. At the age of twenty-nine he decided to abandon the wealth and comfort to which he had been born

[1] The dates of Buddha's life cannot be accurately given; the Ceylon chronology puts his birth at about 600 and his death at 543.

and to go forth and lead the life of a hermit. For many years he sought peace of soul in extreme asceticism and in the strict practice of Brahman ceremonies. Finally he came to the conclusion that all these formal observances were useless, and that the way of salvation lay in a complete surrender of man's will to the will of God. The last years of his life were spent in preaching this new faith to a body of disciples whom he gathered around him.

36. The Teachings of Gautama. Gautama believed that all the evil in the world came from selfishness, and that salvation could come only as self was forgotten. He taught that the state of highest blessedness was Nirvana (the absorption of man's soul into the spirit of God, just as the raindrop is absorbed into the bosom of the ocean). Nirvana was to be attained, not by the performance of ceremonies, but by putting oneself into complete harmony with this divine spirit. To achieve this man must follow the principles of the "Eightfold Path": "Right Belief," "Right Feelings," "Right Speech," "Right Actions," "Right Means of Livelihood," "Right Endeavor," "Right Memory," and "Right Meditation."

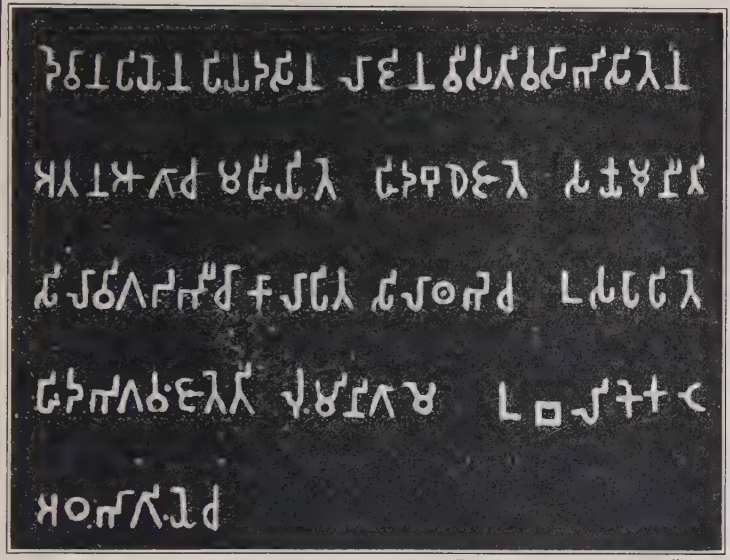
Many beautiful legends have grown up about the life of Gautama, and he must be recognized as one of the great religious teachers of the world. He made no attempt to attack the caste system of the Brahmans, but the spirit of self-forgetfulness which he taught was utterly opposed to the idea of caste, and among his disciples all caste distinctions were abolished.

37. Divisions in Buddhism. After the death of Gautama some of his followers began to make additions to his teachings and to modify them in various ways. At first these changes were not very important and they caused little controversy. About a century later, however, a split occurred between the party which wished to reject any changes and the party which wished to make changes. The conservative party called their form of Buddhism the Hinayana, or "Lesser Vehicle," because

it rejected all the proposed additions, while the reforming party called their form the Mahayana, or "Greater Vehicle." The Hinayana became the Buddhism of the southern part of Asia, and the Mahayana was the form which spread to the north and northeast. In later centuries many subdivisions occurred among the adherents of the Mahayana branch.

38. Asoka and Buddhism. During the life of Gautama, and for about two centuries after his death, Buddhism continued to be merely one of the many little religions of India, and its followers were almost entirely confined to the people of the region in which its founder had lived. The transformation of Buddhism into one of the great religions of the world was largely due to the influence of the Emperor Asoka. Soon after he had ascended the throne at Pataliputra, Asoka's attention was attracted to Buddhism, and in 261 B.C. he became a Buddhist lay disciple. Two years later he entered the Buddhist order and began to devote himself more and more to works of piety. Missionaries were sent out to all parts of the empire and into foreign lands, pilgrimages were made to places which had been the scenes of important events in the life of Gautama, and inscribed columns and tablets were set up in honor of Gautama and his teachings. Asoka did not adopt a policy of persecution against other religions, but he did all that lay in his power to spread the doctrines of Gautama and to inspire his people to follow the "Eightfold Path."

It is possible that Asoka's enthusiasm for the doctrines of Buddhism was entirely due to religious conviction, but his strenuous efforts to foster the spread of Buddhism in his empire may also have been due to wise statesmanship. We have already seen that the caste system of the Brahmans was an obstacle to the development of nationalism, and that caste had no place in the Buddhist religion. It is quite probable that Asoka also saw these facts, and that he believed the general adoption of Buddhism by the people of India would make it less difficult to unite them into a strong nation. Buddhism



From impression taken by Dr. Führer

TRANSLITERATION

1. Devânapiyena piyadasina lâjina visativasâbhisitena
2. atana âgâcha mahîyite hida budhe jâte sakyamuniti
3. silâ vigaḍabhîchâ kâlâpita silâthabhecha usapâpite
4. hida bhagavaṁ jâteti lummînigâme ubalikekaṭe
5. aṭhabhâgiyecha

TRANSLATION

His Majesty King Piyadasi, in the twenty-first year of his reign, having come in person, did reverence. Because here Buddha the Sâkya ascetic was born, he had a stone horse made, and set up a stone pillar. Because here the Venerable One was born, the village of Lummini has been made revenue-free, and has partaken of the King's bounty

(Translation by Vincent A. Smith based on that of Bühler and other scholars)

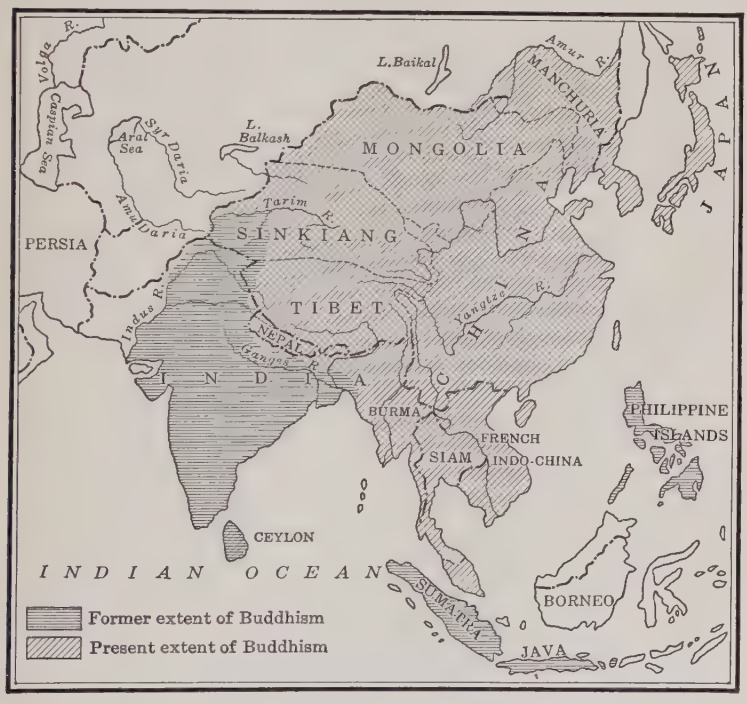
continued to be important in the religious life of India for about a thousand years after the death of Asoka; then it gradually died out and was replaced partly by a revival of Brahmanism and partly by the introduction of Mohammedanism. Only in Ceylon and Nepal does the teaching of Gautama still retain the position which it held during Asoka's reign. Outside India, however, Buddhism has had a more permanent effect, and still flourishes in the lands to which it spread. Moreover, the spread of Buddhism was accompanied by a spread of Indian civilization and art, and the Buddhist lands outside India still show, in their wonderful temples and temple ruins, the influence which they received from the Buddhist expansion.

39. The Dark Age in Indian History. During the thousand years which followed the death of Asoka, India was again divided. The records of the Hindus for this period are vague and contradictory; even the fortunes of Buddhism have to be studied in the writings of Chinese Buddhists who visited India for the purpose of making pilgrimages to the scenes of Gautama's life.

During the early centuries of the Christian Era the peninsula was invaded from the north by Turks and Huns from central Asia, who made little contribution, if any, to Indian civilization and who were absorbed into the already mixed population. In the eighth century of the Christian Era India was again invaded from the west, this time by the Arabs. The people of Arabia had long been active in carrying on commerce between the Mediterranean and the Far East, and their adoption of the Mohammedan religion had now transformed them into a conquering nation.[1] For a while the Arabs held sway in the region at the mouth of the Indus River, but in 750 they were driven out by a popular uprising. Some two centuries later the leadership of the Mohammedans fell from the

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, §§ 190–195. Ginn and Company, 1924.

hands of the Arabs into those of the Turks.[1] Under these new leaders the Mohammedan attacks upon India were resumed, and in 1001 a Turkish leader, Mahmud of Ghazni, conquered the frontier city of Peshawar, thus securing for the Mohammedans their first permanent foothold in the country.



Past and Present Extent of Buddhism

Throughout the twenty-five centuries of Indian development which we have briefly followed, the country and the people were often deeply affected by their contact with the Mediterranean world. Yet during this period India continued to be primarily a Far Eastern country. She contributed greatly to the growing

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, § 240. Ginn and Company, 1924.

civilizations of southern Asia, and Buddhism, her greatest contribution, profoundly affected all the peoples of the Orient. With the commencement of the Mohammedan invasions the people of India were drawn into closer contact with Mediterranean culture.

SOUTHERN INDIA

40. Early History of Southern India. From the map on page 39 we see that Asoka's empire, even at the time of its greatest extent, never included all of India. The triangle at the extreme south of the peninsula remained completely independent of the great empire in the north. Until recent years little was known with regard to the history of this southern region; even now there is still much to be learned, but the researches of archæologists and the careful study of early Tamil literature prove that, from a very early time, southern India has been the scene of great civilizations. Neither the origin of these civilizations nor their exact connection with those of northern India can be established, but some scholars believe that the Phœnicians or the Sabean Arabs were responsible for much of southern India's development.

41. The Three Periods of South Indian History. In general, the political history of southern India centers around four great dynasties. The earliest of these was the dynasty of the Pandayas, whose wars of conquest in southern India are so graphically set forth in the great Indian epic known as the *Mahabharata*. The Pandayas were succeeded by the Cholas and the Cheras, who in turn gave way to the growing power of the Pallavas. This latter dynasty had been a factor in South Indian politics as early as several centuries B.C., but did not acquire a dominating position until early in the Christian Era. After the eighth century A.D. the Pallavas slowly gave way to a combination between the Cholas and the Chalukyas. From the tenth century to the Mohammedan conquest, these two peoples controlled practically all of South India.

42. The Pallavas at the Height of their Power. The great period of Pallava rule lay between the middle of the sixth century and the middle of the eighth century.[1] In the last quarter of the sixth century a Pallava monarch boasted that he had vanquished the Pandaya, the Chola, and the Chera kings. At this time the Pallava territories comprised the modern districts of North Arcot, South Arcot, Madras, Trichinopoly, and Tangore, while their overlordship was recognized from the Narbada and Orissa frontier on the north to the Pennaiyar (Southern Pennar) River on the south, and from the Bay of Bengal on the east to a line drawn through Salem, Bangalore, and Berer on the west.

That the Pallavas were already finding it difficult to maintain their sway over this great empire is shown by the surrender of their province of Vengi, early in the seventh century, to the Chalukyas. During this century, however, they attained their greatest splendor and built the imperishable monuments by which their contributions to history are preserved. Among the seventh-century Pallava rulers two are worthy of especial mention: Mahendra-varman (600–625), memorable for his public works, which include rock-cut temples and caves, splendid buildings, and a great reservoir; and Narasimha-varman Kanchi (625–645), who by defeating the Chalukyas made the Pallavas the dominant power not only in Tamil land but also in the Dekkan.

It was during the reign of Narasimha-varman Kanchi that the Pallava kingdom was visited by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. This traveler, whose writings contain much valuable material for the history of India as a whole, describes Pallava as a fertile and well-cultivated country, whose inhabitants possessed the virtues of courage, trustworthiness, public spirit, and love of learning.

43. The Overthrow of the Pallavas. The first serious blow to Pallava supremacy was the defeat inflicted on them A.D. 740

[1] This was nearly contemporary with the rule of the Merovingians in France.

by the Chalukyas. From this moment the power of the Pallavas steadily declined, and about the end of the ninth century they were completely overthrown by a combination of all their enemies, headed by the Cholas. Pallava chiefs continued to exist as local rulers until the thirteenth century, and nobles (in Southern India) bearing that name may be traced

ANDHRA SHIP COINS ISSUED DURING THE SECOND CENTURY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA (INDIA)

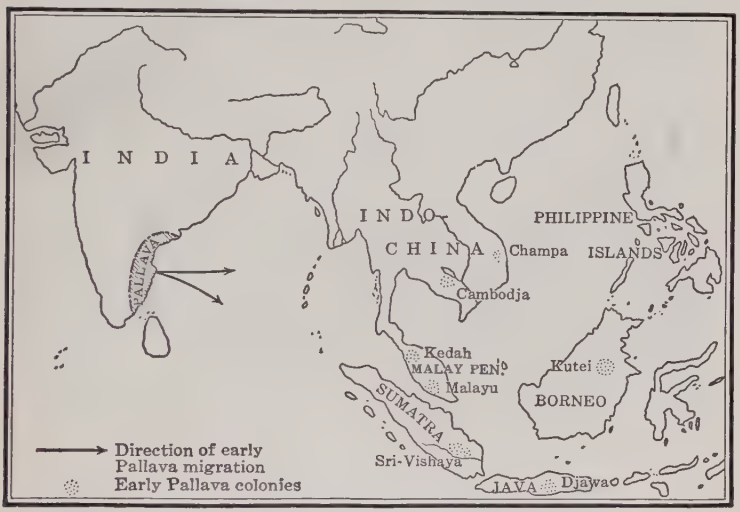
From Mookerji's *History of Indian Shipping*

even to later periods; but after the seventeenth century all trace of the Pallavas as a distinct race or clan disappeared.

44. Pallava Colonization. The Pallava dynasty is of particular importance as the prime mover in the development of Indian relations with Malaysia and the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Early in the history of the dynasty Pallava seamen and merchants began trading ventures to the Malay islands and the coast of Indo-China. These voyages are mentioned frequently in the *Jatakas*, *Pitakas*, etc., of the Buddhist period, as well as in the ancient literature of the Tamils; at an early date, therefore, the Pallava rulers must have been thoroughly

familiar with the extent and the resources of these eastern lands. Even as early as the first century B.C., a few Pallava settlements were established in Indo-China and Malaysia, and centers of Pallava culture gradually increased in number.

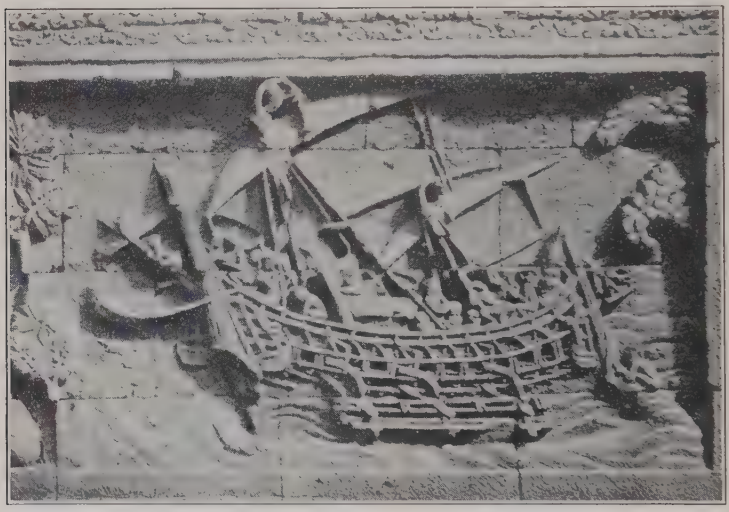
About the fifth or sixth century the Pallava colonies began to take on a new character. The increasing pressure from the



THE PALLAVA COLONIES

people of northern India was beginning to cramp the Pallava state and to convince its rulers of the necessity of moving farther south toward the point of the peninsula. As a means of relieving the consequent overpopulation at home, the government now took an active hand in the development of colonies. The character of these colonies in Malaysia and Indo-China and the speed with which they appeared in widely separated areas indicate that, instead of being mere merchant colonies or settlements of traders, they were founded as part of a definite colonizing program initiated by the rulers of the Pallava state. As our knowledge of the history of these colo-

nies becomes greater, we see a constantly clearer picture of deliberately planned and organized settlements, designed as an outlet for Pallava population and as a safeguard from the



AN OUTRIGGER SHIP OF THE TYPE USED BY THE PALLAVA EXPLORERS AND COLONISTS

From relief sculpture on the Boro-budur, Java

increasing pressure from northern India. The further history of these colonies will be followed in the chapter on Malaysia and Indo-China.

QUESTIONS

I. What was the extent of Alexander's conquests in India? What were some of the permanent effects of Alexander's invasion?

II. Who was Gautama? What is the meaning of "Buddhism"? of "Sakyamuni"? How did Buddhism differ from Brahmanism? What division occurred among the Buddhists after Gautama's death?

III. Who was Asoka? When did he rule? How far did his empire extend? Describe the influence of Asoka in the spread of Buddhism. What was the condition of India after the break-up of Asoka's empire? When did the Mohammedans get a foothold in India?

IV. Do you think the caste system is found in Nepal and Ceylon? Why? Explain why the caste system of India has hindered the development of nationalism. Would this have been true if Buddhism had persisted? Why?

V. What is the source of our knowledge of South Indian history? Look up what is meant by "Tamil States." What important dynasties are concerned in South Indian history? When were the Pallavas dominant in South India? What territory did they control at the height of their power? Who wrested the political power from the Pallavas? When? Why is the Pallava dynasty of special importance to Malaysia? What caused Pallava migration overseas? Were the Pallava emigrants mere traders or organized colonists?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

The teachings of Buddha and of Confucius have spread to all parts of the Far East. Which do you think has had the more important influence?

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CHAPTER VI

CHINA FROM THE CH'INS TO THE MONGOLS

246–209 B.C.	Reign of Shih Huang Ti
212 B.C.	Shih Huang Ti burns the Classics
204 B.C.	Completion of the Great Wall
202 B.C.–A.D. 221.	The Han dynasty
140 B.C.	Accession of Han Wu Ti
108 B.C.	Wu Ti conquers northern Korea
A.D. 61 or 62.	Han Ming Ti welcomes Buddhism to China
A.D. 166.	A Roman commercial embassy reaches Lo-yang
A.D. 300.	Arab traders at Canton
A.D. 618–907.	Tang dynasty
A.D. 635.	Nestorian missionaries reach China
A.D. 960–1127.	Sung dynasty
A.D. 1127–1260.	Southern Sungs

45. Shih Huang Ti (246–209 B.C.). In Chapter II we followed the history of China down to the year 255 B.C., when the last Chou emperor was overthrown and the Duke of Ch'in ascended the imperial throne as the first monarch of the Ch'in dynasty. The five emperors of the Ch'in dynasty ruled over China for a total period of less than fifty years, and the reign of its founder lasted only five years. But the fourth Ch'in emperor, who came to the throne in 246 B.C., governed the country for thirty-seven years and was one of the most powerful rulers that China has ever had. Shih Huang Ti — to call him by the title which he assumed late in his reign — was only thirteen years old when he became emperor, and there is reason to believe that he was not actually the son of his predecessor. At first the government was carried on by an able minister named Lu Puwei; but later Lu headed a revolt with the idea of putting himself on the throne and, when the revolt was suppressed, killed himself. After this event the young emperor was ruler in fact as well as in name.

The reign of Shih Huang Ti saw great changes in China. Like Asoka, who was ruling at this time in India (see § 34), China's new monarch extended his empire far beyond its earlier limits and united it under a single rule. One by one the feudal lords were compelled to surrender their power, and government was once more centralized as it had not been since the first years of the Chou dynasty. The Hsiung-nu Tartars in the northwest, whose descendants, the Huns,[1] later invaded medieval Europe, were defeated and driven back from the frontiers of the empire.

46. The Great Wall. China had for centuries been troubled by attacks of these warlike barbarians and of similar wild tribes at other points along the northern borders. To guard against a repetition of these troubles, Shih Huang Ti commenced the construction of a great fortified wall along this entire frontier. We shall later see that China has, through all ages, welcomed intercourse with peoples who could contribute to her civilization or who wished to learn from her; but the tribes on the north entered the land only to plunder and destroy, and these tribes she endeavored to shut out by means of an impassable wall. The Great Wall was not completed until 204 B.C., two years after the last emperor of the dynasty had been driven from the throne, but it stands today as a monument to the one great ruler of the Ch'in dynasty. It also stands as a monument to the peace-loving temper of the Chinese — a people who chose to expend the labor of thousands of men over a period of many years rather than to maintain the great standing army which would be needed to repel the wild horsemen from the north.

47. Expansion to the South. Before the establishment of the Ch'in dynasty the Chinese Empire had been bounded on the south by the Yangtze River. Shih Huang Ti led his conquering armies far beyond the Yangtze and brought under his

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, § 180. Ginn and Company, 1924.

sway all southern China and the kingdom of Annam. After his death the Cantonese and the Annamese were able to regain their independence, but in 110 B.C., in the reign of the Han emperor Wu Ti, they were again made part of the empire.

48. The Burning of the Books. One step which was taken by Shih Huang Ti, in his efforts to create a strongly centralized empire, gained for him the lasting hatred of the influential scholar class. This was his attempt to destroy the Confucian Classics and to erase from the minds of the Chinese people all memory of the Great Sage and his teachings. In 221 B.C. the emperor, who had been known up to this time as Wang Cheng, assumed the title "Shih Huang Ti," which means "The First Emperor." It was his intention that his successors should be called "The Second Emperor," "The Third Emperor," and so on "throughout a thousand generations," and that he and his successors should enjoy absolute power. Therefore, in order that the people should forget the earlier rulers and the past glories of China, he resolved that all the historical writings in the country should be destroyed.

Accordingly, in 213 B.C. Shih Huang Ti issued a decree that all books, except those which dealt with medicine, agriculture, and divination, should be destroyed. Since the bamboo books were very bulky and difficult to conceal, the following year saw the burning of hundreds of copies of the Classics, which had been gathered together from all parts of the empire. At the same time four hundred and sixty scholars who had dared to disobey the decree, and who had attempted to hide their precious volumes, were buried alive by imperial command. Three years after this great event Shih Huang Ti died, and three years later his successor was overthrown by the founder of the Han dynasty. The rulers of the new dynasty honored the memory of Confucius, and the surviving Confucian scholars were encouraged to write down from memory all they could recall of the Classics. Finally, in 154 B.C., copies of a number of the books were discovered hidden in the wall of a house

THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA

A monument to the industry and pacifism of the Chinese people

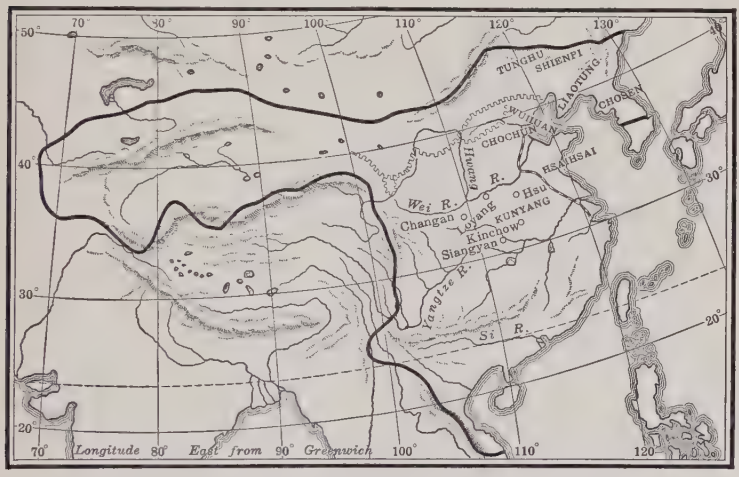
where Confucius had once lived. Other fragments were later discovered in other places, so that the Classics were gradually restored almost to the form in which they had existed when Shih Huang Ti decided to build his new empire upon a foundation of ignorance of the past.

49. Permanent Influence of Shih Huang Ti. Shih Huang Ti failed in almost everything that he hoped to accomplish. His dynasty, which was to last for a thousand generations, came to an end within three years of his own death. His effort to give China a government in which the monarch had absolute power was hardly more successful than his effort to destroy all the writings which would recall the glories of the past. But in spite of these failures the great Ch'in emperor had a lasting influence upon his country. Although the Great Wall did not put an end to invasions by the northern barbarians, it undoubtedly checked many petty plundering expeditions and it served for centuries to mark clearly the northern frontier of China. His conquests toward the south set an example for later rulers, and thus insured the establishment of an empire which, although sometimes large and sometimes small, roughly corresponded to the present Chinese state. Finally, China, although frequently broken into fragments during the periods between strong dynasties, never completely lost the tradition of unity which Shih Huang Ti had endeavored to implant in the people.

50. The Han Dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 221). The first sixty years or so under the Han dynasty, the successor of the Ch'ins, were filled with disorders of various sorts. Rivals arose in different parts of the empire and attempted to seize the imperial throne; the Hsiung-nu Tartars in the north again began to threaten the country with invasion and desolation; and disputed successions within the new imperial family threatened to bring about its downfall. During this unsettled period China was governed for eight years by an empress, the first woman who had ever ruled the country in her own name. After this series

of troubled reigns, however, a strong man came to the throne in the person of Wu Ti, the sixth emperor of the dynasty.

51. Wu Ti (140–86 B.C.). The long reign of Wu Ti was marked by internal peace and prosperity. Externally it was a time in which China extended her influence far beyond the limits which had been reached even under Shih Huang Ti. In 110 B.C., as has already been mentioned, Wu Ti reëstablished the imperial authority over the Cantonese and Annamese



THE EMPIRE OF THE HANS AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT

in the south. Two years later, his armies overran the northern part of the Korean peninsula, and for a while this region was brought under the control of China. On the northwest and west the Tartars were overcome, and the tribes of central Asia, as far westward as the shores of the Caspian Sea, acknowledged the supremacy of the Chinese emperor. As a result of these wars of expansion, China gained her first definite knowledge of the Roman Republic to the far west and of the island kingdom of Japan in the east.

52. Contact with Rome. The campaigns of the Chinese in central Asia had made them acquainted with the Parthians,

and in the closing years of Wu Ti's reign an emissary was sent into Parthia with instructions to go westward as far as the Roman frontier. This official reached the head of the Persian Gulf and brought back to China more definite knowledge of the Romans than the Chinese had formerly possessed. For a long time the Chinese and Romans carried on indirect trade with the Parthians as middlemen. Later, however, this trade was interrupted by the outbreak of a war between Rome and Parthia, and, A.D. 166, Roman merchants attempted to open up trade with China by sea. In that year a Roman commercial mission came by ship to the coast of Indo-China, and thence made its way by land to the Chinese capital, Lo-yang, on the Yellow River. At that time the Han dynasty had commenced to lose its power in the south, and the government appears to have done nothing to develop maritime trade with the Westerners. A second commercial mission from Rome reached China A.D. 226, after the empire had broken up into the Three Kingdoms (§ 56), and found its way to Nanking, which was at that time the capital of the kingdom of Wu. This mission also seems to have had little or no result, and the maritime commerce between China and the West did not actually begin until three quarters of a century later.

53. Earliest Relations with Japan. Before 108 B.C. the Chinese had only a faint knowledge of Japan's existence, and it was the conquest of northern Korea in that year which gave them their first trustworthy knowledge about their island neighbors. Chinese control in Korea did not last long, but for about four centuries after Wu Ti's invasion of the peninsula China maintained a certain amount of communication with both Korea and Japan. About A.D. 265 direct communication between China and Japan appears to have been broken off, and it was not resumed until early in the fifth century.

54. Introduction of Buddhism. It was also during the Han dynasty that the Chinese became acquainted with the doc-

trines of Buddhism. Buddhist teachings reached China from the Indo-Scythian peoples who dwelt in southern Turkestan, and so the introduction of the religion must be regarded as one more result of Wu Ti's conquests in central Asia. The arrival of Buddhism in China is usually placed about A.D. 61 or 62, and the honor of having brought about the introduction of the new religion is usually accredited to the emperor Ming Ti. According to the popular story, Ming Ti dreamed of a man sixteen feet tall, with the light of the sun around his neck; he therefore sent messengers to the west, since it was in the west that he had seen this vision, and the messengers returned bringing an image of Buddha together with some copies of Buddhist writings. There is positive evidence that the Chinese had some knowledge of Buddhism as early as the year 2 B.C., so this story is undoubtedly a myth, but it may indicate that the religion was officially recognized during Ming Ti's reign.

The doctrines of Buddha quickly became popular in China, where the steady growth of Buddhism contrasted with its declining influence in India. The Confucianists offered little opposition to the spread of this foreign belief, and many of the educated class found it possible to combine Buddhism with their reverence for the practical teachings of China's own Great Sage. In later times, however, certain Buddhist practices came to be regarded as injurious to the public welfare, and Buddhist monasteries were sometimes compelled to submit to strict regulations. With Buddhism there came into China the influence of Indian art, which, long before this, had been influenced by the art of the Greeks. All these new influences spread later into Korea, and during the sixth century Buddhism and Buddhist art were carried over from Korea to Japan.

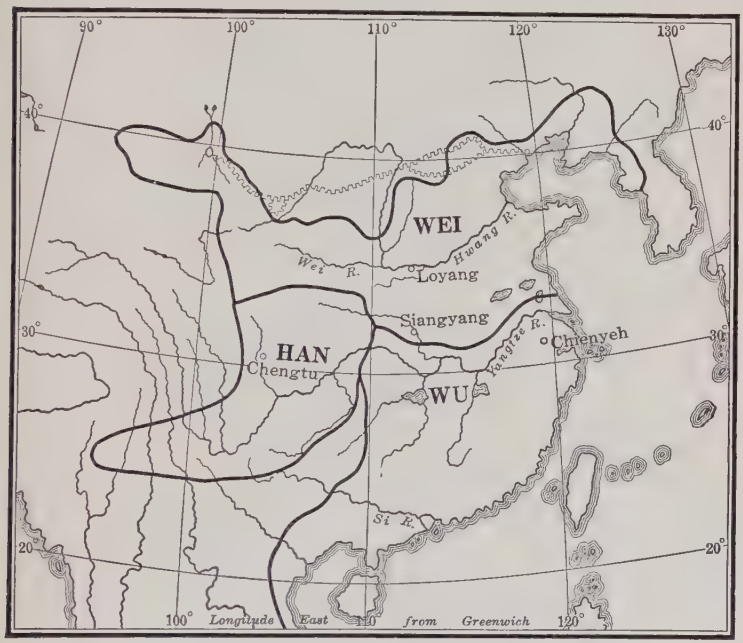
55. Printing and Literary Examinations. Internally, the Han dynasty was a period in which China made much progress in the arts of peace. The story of this progress belongs to the history of China rather than to a study of the whole

Orient, yet there are two achievements of this period which deserve especial attention. It was under the Hans that the art of printing from wooden blocks is said to have been invented. This art did not come into general use until much later and does not seem to have been noticed by the government until the middle of the tenth century. Even at that late date, however, China was still five centuries ahead of Europe. The other great progressive step was taken by the emperors themselves; this was the establishment of literary examinations for the purpose of selecting suitable men for official positions. This system of examinations became the oldest civil-service-examination system in the world, for it continued, practically without interruption, down to the opening years of the present century. As a result of this system, the Chinese Empire was never ruled by an official "caste"; official careers were open to any man who had ability and application, while no one who lacked these qualities could hope to obtain appointment, except during those periods when favoritism and corruption were bringing a dynasty to its ruin.

56. The Three Kingdoms. Toward the end of the second century of the Christian Era, the Han power began to decline, and in 220 the empire fell to pieces. This time it was divided into the three states of Wei, Wu, and Han. Wei was in the valleys of the Wei and Yellow rivers; Wu was in the east, around the mouth of the Yangtze River and along the coast to the south; Han was in the west, and its center was the present province of Szechuan. This period of the divided empire is known in Chinese history as the age of the Three Kingdoms. It has been the greatest source of romantic material for Chinese writers, and a historical novel called *The History of the Three Kingdoms*, written several centuries later, became very popular, especially in Japan. During these disorders the Tartars took advantage of the situation and made themselves rulers over much of northern China. Following the disappearance of the Three Kingdoms, China was ruled for more than

three centuries by a succession of short-lived dynasties, none of which had control of the entire empire.

57. The Land of "Fu Sang." During the rule of one of these short dynasties there occurred an event which may indicate that Chinese contact with the outside world reached as far as America. In the year 499 a Buddhist monk named Hui Sheng



China at the Time of the Three Kingdoms

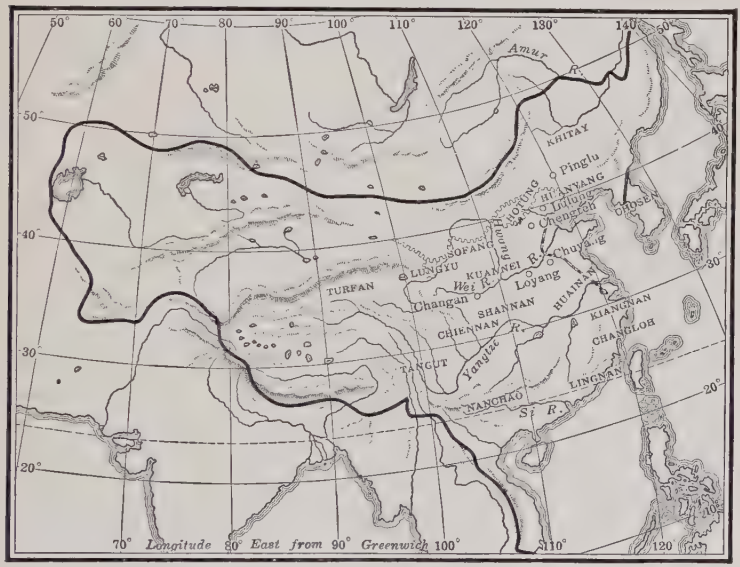
arrived at the capital of China and told of having visited a land, several thousand miles east of China, which he called "Fu Sang." The description that Hui Sheng gave of this strange land may be made to fit Mexico; a number of books have been written to prove that it was Mexico and that the civilization of Mexico was brought there from China. It is not impossible that Hui Sheng did reach Mexico or some point on the coast of America, but it is certain that the ancient

KUAN-YIN, THE BUDDHIST GODDESS OF MERCY

This dates from the sixth or seventh century of the Christian Era. (Original in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

civilizations of America originated far earlier than the date of this supposed forerunner of Columbus.

58. The Tang Dynasty (A.D. 618–907). After four centuries of disorder a powerful leader arose who was able to reunite China under a single rule. This leader is known to history as the Emperor Kao Tsu, and was the founder of the Tang dynasty, which was to rule China for nearly three hundred years.



The Chinese Empire under the Tangs

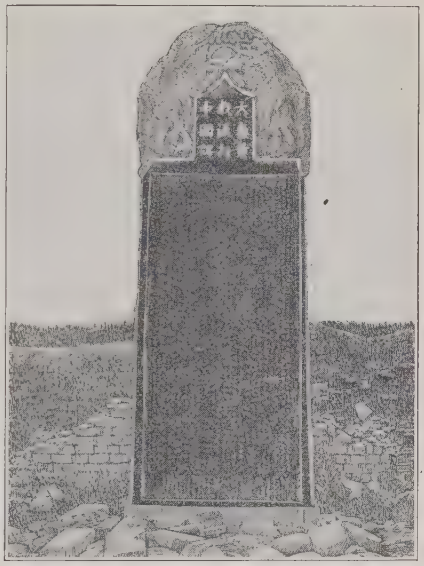
Under the early rulers of the Tang dynasty China quickly regained the splendid position which she had held during the reign of Wu Ti. Tongking, Annam, and Cambodia were made tributary states of China, while the emperor's authority was again extended westward as far as Persia and the shores of the Caspian. The Turks, who had been developing into the most powerful warrior tribe of central Asia, were repulsed in their attacks upon Chinese territory, with the result that

they began to turn their attention toward the southwest, where they later became the conquerors of Asia Minor and a large part of Europe.

To the east the power and influence of China were greatly increased. Just before the founding of the new dynasty, the king of the Lu-chu Islands had acknowledged himself the vassal of China. In 668 the Tang emperor conquered the kingdom of Koguryu, in the northern part of the Korean peninsula, and made it part of the empire. At about the same time, the rest of Korea was united into the kingdom of Silla, whose monarchs recognized the supremacy of China. From Silla, and even from Japan, frequent embassies were sent to the newly established capital at Si-an-fu, while Korean and Japanese scholars visited China in order to study the philosophy, the arts, and the civilization of the Chinese. Only in the north and northwest did the Tang rulers fail to extend the influence of their country. Here the rising power of the Khitan Tartars was creating an empire which, at times, reached from Lake Baikal to the shores of the Pacific, and these warlike nomads were a constant threat to the more settled civilized peoples dwelling south of the Great Wall.

59. Maritime Commerce. About the year 300 merchants from Arabia had established regular trade with the Chinese at Canton. This trade, which handled the greater part of such Chinese products as found their way to the Western World, was carried in Arab and Chinese ships until the coming of the Portuguese. In times of disorder the trade at Canton often languished, but the Tang emperors appreciated the benefits of foreign commerce and encouraged the foreign merchants to come and trade at Chinese ports. In order to make things easier for these merchants and for the Chinese officials, the *Laws of the Tang Dynasty*, drawn up in 643, provided that disputes between foreigners of a single nationality should be settled in accordance with the laws of that nation, but that disputes between foreigners of different nationalities or be-

tween foreigners and Chinese should be settled by Chinese law; Chinese law was also applied in all criminal cases. Each group of foreigners, containing all the merchants of a single nationality, was required to have its chief, or "headman." To this headman the officials gave instructions as to the rules and regulations which must be obeyed, and the headman, in addition to settling the disputes between the members of his group, was held responsible for the proper behavior of all his fellow nationals. Such an arrangement made it unnecessary for many of the foreigners to understand the Chinese language; nor did the Chinese authorities have to become acquainted with the different customs and laws of the foreigners.



The Nestorian Tablet at Si-an-fu

Under the Tang emperors Si-an-fu was the capital of the empire

60. Nestorian Christianity. Under the Han emperors China had received from central Asia her earliest knowledge of Buddhism; during the early years of the Tang dynasty two new foreign religions found their way from the west into the empire. The first of these new religions was Nestorian Christianity. The teachings of Nestorius had been condemned as heresy by the Church Council at Ephesus A.D. 431; Nestorius and his followers had then broken away from orthodox Christianity and had founded an independent Christian church in Persia. From Persia the religion had spread into central Asia, and

finally in 635 it reached China. The early history of Nestorianism in China is given in the inscriptions upon the famous Nestorian Monument, which was discovered in 1625 at Si-an-fu. These inscriptions show that the Tang rulers tolerated Nestorianism and that some of them even showed it special favors. One part of the inscription is especially interesting because of the fact that it practically identifies Christianity with the teachings of Lao-tzu:

> Under Chou, when the government was bad, the rider of the blue ox [that is, Lao-tzu, who is represented as having left China riding upon an ox] departed to the west.
>
> Under Tang, when the government was good, the teaching of virtue returned from the west.

Nestorianism continued for many centuries to be one of the religions of China. Marco Polo, near the end of the thirteenth century, found many Nestorian Christians at the court of Kublai Khan, while we now know that a Chinese Nestorian Christian once became the Patriarch of the Nestorian Church, and that he visited Rome and was a guest of the king of France. With the establishment of early Roman Catholic missions in China, the Chinese Nestorians were gradually absorbed into Catholicism.

61. Mohammedanism. The second foreign religion which obtained a foothold in China during the Tang dynasty was Mohammedanism. The teachings of Mohammed probably first reached China through the Arabs trading at Canton, and there is a tradition that an uncle of Mohammed preached the doctrines of Islam at Canton as early as 628. But the real spread of Mohammedanism into China, like the introduction of Buddhism and of Nestorianism, came from central Asia. In 751 a battle was fought between the Chinese and the Mohammedan Arabs in Turkestan. This battle was important for Europeans, since the Chinese who were taken prisoner by the Arabs taught their captors the art of making paper, and

this art was subsequently taught by the Arabs to the peoples of the West. Five years after this battle the Tang emperor was driven from his throne by a revolution. He appealed to these same Arabs for assistance and, with the aid of several thousand Arab troops, was able to regain his power. Many of the Arabs remained in China, and the greater part of the fifteen million Mohammedans who are now to be found in the country are probably descended from these Arab settlers.

62. The Decline of the Tangs. The Tang dynasty was not only a period during which China exercised far-reaching influence upon the other peoples of Asia; it was also a time of great progress at home in art and in civilization. But the very wealth and advancing culture of the empire brought corruption and disorder. The luxury and splendor of the court became the cause of more and more burdensome taxation. As time passed, the emperors neglected the duties of their office and gave themselves up to lives of pleasure. The power fell into the hands of unworthy officials, and the capital became a center of intrigues and conspiracies; meantime the people murmured against misgovernment, and foreign enemies threatened the frontiers. Among the last rulers of the dynasty there were some who strove to correct these growing evils, but the task was beyond their strength, and in 907 the last of the Tangs was overthrown.

Following the fall of the Tang emperor, China was again ruled for a while by a series of imperial families, each of which rose to govern for a few years and then disappeared. Five of these short-lived dynasties appeared in the space of fifty-three years, and then there rose to power the ruler who was able to establish another great line of emperors.

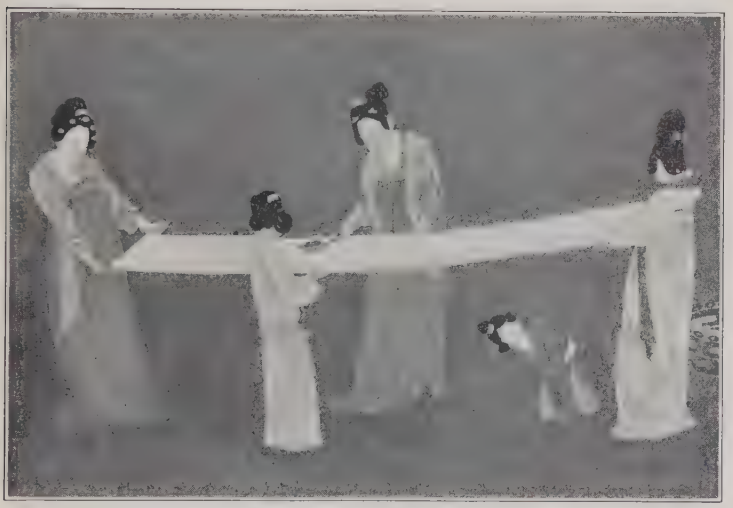
63. The Sung Dynasty (A.D. 960–1127). Like the first Tang emperor, the founder of the Sung dynasty took the name Kao Tsu. Kao Tsu was not a scholar but a soldier, and he had been chosen by his fellow soldiers because of his superiority as a military leader; yet he endeavored to unite the empire

by peaceful means instead of by war. The petty rulers who had arisen during the previous fifty years refused to submit, however, until they had been conquered by force of arms. Moreover, some of these local rulers appealed for help from the Khitans, who had established themselves in the Liaotung peninsula and hoped to extend their authority over all northern China. In spite of his desire for peace, Kao Tsu was therefore compelled to spend his time in constant warfare, first against the independent Chinese princes and later against the Khitan invaders. These domestic and foreign troubles were never permanently settled, and Kao Tsu's successors were also obliged to wage almost constant war against their various enemies at home and on the frontiers.

MARBLE TORSO FROM THE TANG DYNASTY (618–907)
Original in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

64. Wang An-shih. In such brief intervals of peace as they were able to find, several of the Sung emperors and their ministers endeavored to strengthen their country by making their people more prosperous and contented. The most remarkable of these reformers was the minister Wang An-shih.

This man was born in 1021 and first became prominent on account of his unusual interpretations of the Confucian Classics, especially those passages which referred to land-holding. At the age of forty-eight, Wang became prime minister of the empire and was soon able to lead the emperor into a policy of sweeping reform. The land taxes were



CHINESE WOMEN PREPARING NEWLY WOVEN SILK

A painting attributed to the artist Hui-tsung (1082–1135). (Original in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

lowered and were made payable in grain or other produce. The government made loans to the farmers at an interest of two and a half per cent per month, and these loans were to be repaid after the harvest. In order to keep the price of grain from rising and falling, the government was to buy up grain when the price began to fall and sell it when prices rose. Instead of utilizing forced labor to carry out all the government's public works, Wang proposed to pay for this labor and levied an income tax to provide the treasury with the necessary funds.

Many of Wang An-shih's reforms have a very modern sound and resemble the plans of twentieth-century socialists in the West. But these changes were not approved by the Chinese people. The scholars felt that Wang was departing from the teachings of Confucius, and that his new laws were therefore wrong, while the people did not like to see the government exercise too much power over their business affairs. For eight years Wang held his post as prime minister; then he was dismissed from office and died in disgrace. Only one of Wang An-shih's reforms was permanent. To provide a force for maintaining the peace, he instituted a system of local militia called the Pao Chia. This militia system continued to exist for more than eight hundred years, and, as we shall see, had an important part in the Boxer movement of 1900.

A Wooden Kuan-yin of the Sung Dynasty (Twelfth Century)
Original in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

65. The Southern Sungs (A.D. 1127–1260). Soon after the opening of the twelfth century, the Chinese emperor adopted the unfortunate policy of calling upon another Tartar tribe — the Kin, or "Golden," Tartars — to aid him against the Khitans. With the aid of the Kin Tartars, he was able to defeat and drive out the Khitans, who had occupied the northern

provinces of the empire. Earlier rulers of China had adopted this plan of using one tribe of barbarians to defeat another, but the Sung emperor now found that his allies had no intention of withdrawing from the land. The Kins established themselves at Peking as their capital and extended their authority over all northern China as far south as the Yangtze River, while the Sung emperor withdrew south of the Yangtze and made his capital first at Nanking and later at Hangchow.

From this time the rulers of the Sung line are known as the "Southern" Sungs, and they continued to rule over the southern part of China until the entire country was overrun and conquered, more than a century later, by the Mongols. During this period China enjoyed but a fraction of her former importance among the nations of Asia. In the north of the empire the Kin Tartars held sway, but beyond the Great Wall was rising the power of the Mongol tribes, who were soon to establish their authority over the greater part of the Asiatic continent.

QUESTIONS

I. Who was Shih Huang Ti, and when did he reign? What is the meaning of his name? Why did he take this name? Who were the Hsiung-nu Tartars? When was the Great Wall built, and why? Find the Great Wall on the map. What expansion took place in the reign of Shih Huang Ti? Why did he burn the Confucian Classics? In what ways did Shih Huang Ti have a permanent influence upon China?

II. Describe the condition of China under the first five emperors of the Han dynasty. When was the reign of Wu Ti? How far did the power of China extend during his reign? How was early commerce carried on between China and Rome? What early attempts were made to establish trade by sea? When did China begin to have definite knowledge about Japan?

III. From whom did the Chinese receive Buddhism? What story is told about the introduction of Buddhism? How was the new religion received? What other influences came into China along with Buddhism? Where did Buddhism spread from China?

IV. What important internal progress was made during the Han dynasty? How long did the system of literary examinations last? How did this system affect the government of China?

V. What were the Three Kingdoms? Could Hui Sheng have reached Mexico without going very far from the land at any point on his trip? Trace on the map a possible route. What ocean current would have helped him forward along this route? How would it compare with the line followed by the only airships that have ever flown around the world?

VI. How did the power of China under the Tang dynasty compare with the power under the Hans? When was maritime commerce established with the Western world? In whose hands was this commerce? What arrangements did the Tang government make for the settlement of disputes among the foreign merchants? What two new religions came into China during the Tang dynasty? Which of these two is still found in China? What was the condition of China under the last Tang emperors?

VII. Why did the first Sung emperors have to carry on constant war? Describe the reforms of Wang An-shih. Which of his reforms continued longest? Why did the Sungs become the "Southern" Sungs?

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

If Shih Huang Ti were emperor of China today, what policy do you think he would adopt?

What do you think would be the attitude of Wang An-shih toward the theories of Soviet Russia?

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CHAPTER VII

KOREA FROM THE BEGINNING OF ITS HISTORY TO THE TIME OF THE MONGOLS

1122 B.C.	Ki Tse establishes the kingdom of "Chosen"
193 B.C.	Overthrow of Ki Tse's successors
108 B.C.	Northern Korea conquered by Wu Ti
57 B.C.	Founding of Silla
37 B.C.	Founding of Koguryu
16 B.C.	Founding of Pakche
16 B.C.–A.D. 660.	Period of the Three Kingdoms
A.D. 372.	Buddhism introduced into Korea
A.D. 668.	Southern Korea united under the king of Silla
A.D. 935.	Wang Kien unites all Korea into one kingdom

66. Beginning of Korean History. In 1122 B.C. a Chinese exile named Ki Tse reached Korea with a band of about five thousand followers and set up a kingdom, to which he gave the name of "Chosen" ("Land of the Morning Calm"). This marks the beginning of the historic age in Korea. The legendary history of the country goes back much farther than this and tells of a superhuman ruler named Tan Gun, whose reign commenced in 2333 B.C. According to these legends, Tan Gun ruled the land for more than a thousand years and was succeeded by a son, who governed the country until he was defeated and driven away to the north by the forces of Ki Tse.

67. The Peoples of Korea. At the beginning of the historic period, Korea was inhabited by two quite distinct groups of people. North of the Han River there were people who had found their way into the peninsula by the only easy land route, — across the Yalu River near its mouth. These immigrants came from Manchuria and from regions lying still farther to the west. The peoples who lived south of the Han River differed from the northerners in language, in customs, and in

physical characteristics, while they closely resembled the people of southern Japan and of the Lu-chu Islands. It is now generally believed that, at a very early age, there was a great Malay migration from the south, and that these people, coming by sea along the coast of Asia, settled in the Lu-chu Islands, in southern Japan, and in the southern part of Korea. After the dawn of Korean history there were frequent migrations from China into Korea, while other immigrants found their way across from Japan and settled in the southern part of the country. There was also a constant movement of population into the peninsula from Manchuria on the northwest. During the course of centuries, however, all these various groups intermingled and became practically a single people.

68. Ki Tse and his Successors (1122–193 B.C.). Before he left China to seek refuge in a new land, Ki Tse had been a prominent official under the last emperor of the Shang dynasty, and when the Chou dynasty was established he went into exile rather than remain in China as an officer under the new emperor. It is not definitely known just where Ki Tse and his followers set up their kingdom, and some historians assert that the settlement was actually in eastern Manchuria outside the present boundaries of Korea; but the Korean story is that the newcomers landed on the west coast, south of the Han River, and established their capital at Phyong An on the banks of the Tai-tong. Here Ki Tse found inhabitants who had little knowledge of civilized life, and introduced among them some of the arts and industries of China. He taught the Koreans to build houses, to cultivate the fields, and to produce silk; and he gave them their first organized government. For more than nine hundred years the descendants of Ki Tse ruled the kingdom which their ancestor had founded. When disorders broke out in China during the closing centuries of the Chou dynasty, other groups of Chinese fled from their homes to the Land of the Morning Calm, and the new immigrants brought fresh contributions to the civili-

zation that had already been planted there. About the time of Shih Huang Ti an unusually large number of refugees from China began to find their way into the northern part of Korea. In 193 B.C. these latest arrivals gained control of the northern districts and were strong enough to seize the capital at Phyong An. Ki Jun, the last successor of Ki Tse, was driven from the throne and was forced to flee to the southern part of the kingdom.

69. Divided Korea (193 B.C.–A.D. 668). The overthrow of the government which had been established by Ki Tse was followed by centuries of division and strife. At first the rebels were able to govern the country north of the Tai-tong; then they were conquered by Wu Ti, and their state became for a time part of the Chinese Empire. This period of Chinese rule over northern Korea did not last long, and by the opening of the Christian Era three well-organized independent states had appeared. In the north was the kingdom of Koguryu, which was founded in the year 37 B.C.; Koguryu was usually bounded on the south by the Tai-tong, although its power sometimes extended down into the valley of the Han; on the west its territories reached beyond the Yalu River and included a considerable part of eastern Manchuria. Pakche (founded in 16 B.C.) occupied the western part of the peninsula south of Koguryu, and Silla (founded in 57 B.C.) held the more mountainous region to the east. These were the Three Kingdoms of Korean history,[1] but, at the extreme southern tip of the peninsula there was a region called Kaya which formed a wedge between the southern portions of Pakche and Silla, and which was able to maintain for several centuries an independent existence. Throughout this period of Korean history, the states which occupied the peninsula were frequently engaged in long and bitter wars. During these struggles the warring states repeatedly sought military assistance from either China or Japan.

[1] They must not be confused with the Chinese Three Kingdoms.

70. The Rise of Silla. Koguryu was the most warlike of the three Korean states and was sometimes strong enough to attack even the northern provinces of China. Pakche, being on the western side of the peninsula, had almost as much contact with China by sea as Koguryu had by land; but Pakche was

KOREA IN THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

usually on more friendly terms with the Japanese government than with the Chinese. Kaya, in the south, was merely a loose confederacy of independent tribes, over which Japanese adventurers were often able to establish themselves as rulers. Both Koguryu and Pakche were more highly civilized than the eastern state of Silla, but it was Silla that was destined to reunite the greater part of the peninsula into a single kingdom. The

mountainous character of Silla, although it retarded the development of civilization, enabled the Sillans to resist the attacks of their two enemies, and about the sixth century Silla began to expand at the expense of her neighbors. In the year 527 the king of Silla was able to annex a southern district of Koguryu, and thirty-five years later all the territory of Kaya was brought under his control. This constant expansion very naturally aroused the suspicions and fears of the other two states, and about the middle of the seventh century Koguryu and Pakche formed an alliance for the destruction of Silla. The Sillans were now in a desperate position and appealed to the Chinese emperor for aid. The king of Silla had always been careful to keep on good terms with China, while his two rivals had often refused to acknowledge Chinese supremacy; the Chinese emperor therefore responded to this appeal for help and sent his troops into Korea. In 660 Pakche was conquered, and eight years later Koguryu was completely crushed by the invaders. The districts north of the Tai-dong were incorporated into the Chinese Empire, while all the peninsula south of that river was united to form a new and larger kingdom of Silla.

71. United Korea. It was not long before this great increase of power led the Sillan monarch to dream of complete independence, in place of vassalage to China; but a severe defeat by the imperial forces taught him the wisdom of remaining loyal to his Chinese suzerain. For the next two and a half centuries the kings of Silla, as vassals of the Tang emperors, ruled over the united kingdom; and the people of the country made rapid progress in all the arts of civilization. Progress in culture, however, was accompanied by a decline in the virtues which had hitherto made Silla strong. The simple, hardy mountaineers lost much of their simplicity and bravery; loyalty gave way to conspiracy and intrigue; and the later rulers of the kingdom gave themselves up to lives of luxury and dissipation. By the close of the ninth century

corruption and misgovernment had led to the outbreak of revolutionary movements, and a long period of internal disorder followed. At the same time the fall of the Tang dynasty in China had put an end to Chinese control in the old kingdom of Koguryu, and disturbances also broke out in this region. Finally there appeared a leader, named Wang Kien, who was strong enough to restore order and to establish a new government. In 935 Wang Kien overthrew the last king of Silla and united the entire Korean peninsula — Koguryu as well as the enlarged kingdom of Silla — into a single kingdom. Wang Kien was nearly sixty years old when he became the ruler of this united country, and he lived only a few years after gaining the throne; but his successors ruled Korea for more than four and a half centuries. Even when the conquering Mongols extended their authority over Korea, the descendants of Wang Kien continued to be the nominal rulers of the kingdom, and it was not until 1392 that the last monarch of the line was driven from the throne by a new revolution.

72. Korea's Debt to China. We have already seen that Ki Tse brought to the Koreans some knowledge of Chinese civilization, and that the thousand years after his arrival saw a faint but continuous flow of Chinese ideas into the peninsula. Closer contact between Korea and China began, however, with Han Wu Ti's conquest of northern Korea in 108 B.C. After this time Chinese influence was especially strong in Koguryu, whose territories often extended westward to the frontiers of China, and in Pakche, whose many harbors faced those of China across the Yellow Sea. Yet even the people of mountainous Silla were continually receiving new bits of Chinese culture. It may seem strange that the use of written language, which was known to the Chinese before Ki Tse left that country, was not introduced into Korea by this great ruler; but it must be remembered that the Koreans would have no use for the art of writing until after they had made considerable advance along the road toward civilization.

There is no record as to just when this art first reached Koguryu, although it was probably introduced there soon after the beginning of the Christian Era. In Pakche writing was introduced about the middle of the fourth century [1] of the Christian Era, and it did not reach Silla until more than half

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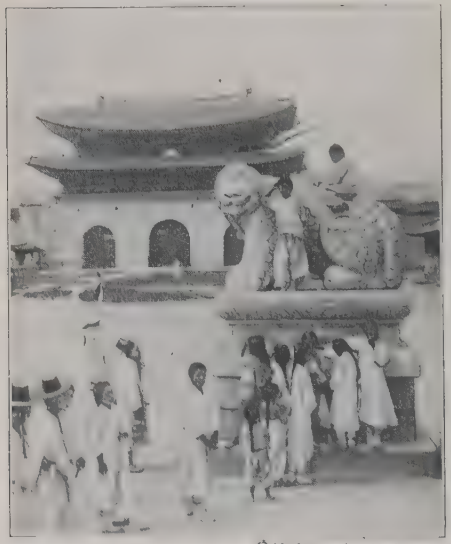
A Bird's-eye View of Seoul

The church in the background gives a modern touch, but the roofs in the foreground show an architecture that has changed little in the last two thousand years

a century later. It was not long after the art of writing began to spread through Korea that the country received from China its first knowledge of Buddhism. The Buddhist missionaries brought their religion into Koguryu in 372 and into Pakche twelve years later; in both these states it immediately became the religion of the court. Silla did not receive its first Buddhist teachers until the middle of the fifth century, and it was some

[1] It was A.D. 375 that the events in the history of the state first began to be written down.

time after this that Buddhism was adopted here as the state religion. Along with these two great gifts from China — written language and Buddhism — there came many other important additions to Korean culture. The introduction of Chinese writing enabled the Koreans to become acquainted with the teachings of Confucian philosophy and with all that the Chinese had learned about medicine, geography, and astronomy. Buddhism, on the other hand, brought with it all the beauties of Chinese art and all the artistic influences which China had received from India.



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A Palace Gate at Seoul

The gateway illustrates the strong Chinese influence in Korean architecture. The stone figure in the foreground is typically Korean

The Koreans made very little addition to the science and philosophy which they received from China, yet they were not mere slavish imitators of the Chinese. After using the ideographic writing of China for a thousand years, Korea developed about the middle of the fifteenth century an alphabet which was admirably suited for recording the spoken language of the country. In art also they soon showed decidedly independent genius, and as early as the sixth century Korean sculptors were producing original work of great beauty. Their architecture closely resembled the Chinese, but in the art of shipbuilding they soon made great progress and displayed inventive originality.

QUESTIONS

I. What event marks the beginning of Korean history? What was the meaning of the name "Chosen"? How did the early inhabitants of Korea reach the country? Examine the map of Korea and see which regions are the most mountainous. Which way does the peninsula "face"; that is, on which side are its seaports? How long did the descendants of Ki Tse rule Korea? By whom were they overthrown?

II. Locate the three separate kingdoms of Korea. What was Kaya? Explain the rise of Silla. When was Korea reunited? By whom was the kingdom of Silla conquered? From whom did the Koreans receive their knowledge of Buddhism? When did writing come into use in Korea? How long did the Koreans continue to use Chinese writing? In what arts did the Koreans show originality?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

The Chinese believe that Korea is naturally a part of China, whereas the Japanese believe it is naturally a part of Japan. Which do you think are right? Why?

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CHAPTER VIII

JAPAN FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BEGINNING OF THE KAMAKURA SHOGUNATE

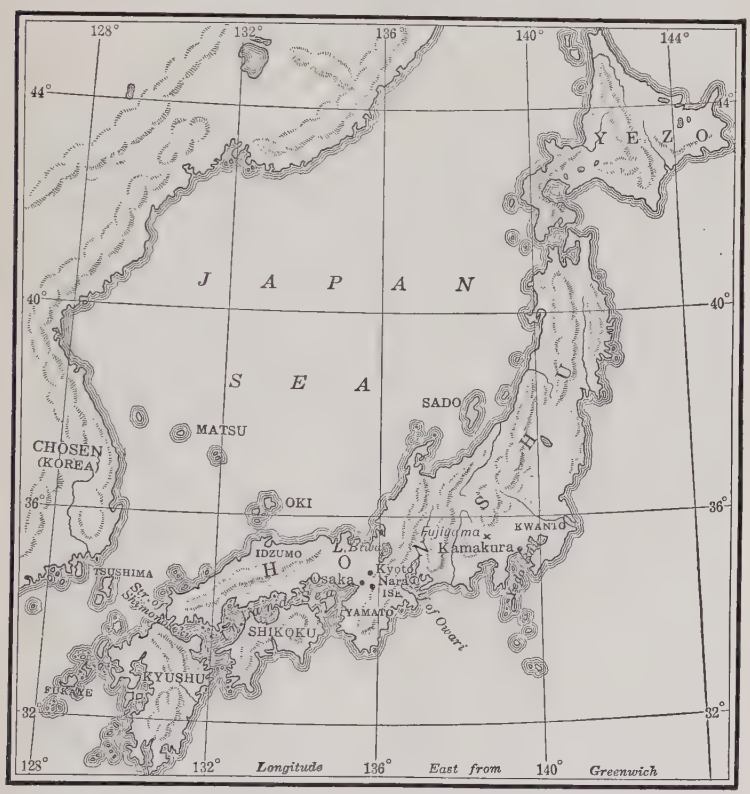
660 B.C.	Jimmu Tenno, the first emperor of Japan
A.D. 200.	The Empress Jingo
A.D. 552.	Introduction of Buddhism
A.D. 593–621.	Regency of Shotoku Taishi
A.D. 645.	Beginning of the Taikwa Reform
A.D. 710–784.	Nara the first national capital
A.D. 794.	Capital moved to Kyoto
A.D. 842.	Beginning of Fujiwara domination
A.D. 1072.	The first "Cloistered Emperor," Sanjo II
A.D. 1160–1180.	Period of Taira domination
A.D. 1192.	Yoritomo becomes Sei-i-tai-Shogun and establishes the Kamakura Shogunate

73. Legendary Character of Early Japanese History. The official history of Japan begins in the year 660 B.C., with the Emperor Jimmu (Jimmu Tenno) the first human ruler of the empire. Jimmu is believed to be the ancestor of every emperor who has since occupied the imperial throne; he is also regarded as the direct descendant of the Sun Goddess, by whom the land was created and whose divine descendants ruled over it for many centuries before the coming of Jimmu. Beginning with the first human emperor, Japanese histories record an unbroken line of monarchs and give the exact length of each reign; but the whole of this history, for more than a thousand years after it begins, is decidedly legendary.[1] Not until after the introduction of writing, A.D. 405, do Japanese records begin to be trustworthy; before that time exact dates

[1] Early Japanese history is given in the *Kojiki* ("Record of Ancient Matters") and in the *Nihonji* ("Chronicles of Japan").

can be fixed only for such occurrences as are mentioned in the contemporary historical records of China or Korea.

74. Inhabitants of Japan. It is generally believed that the earliest inhabitants of Japan were the people who are now



EARLY JAPAN

known as the Ainu, and that they entered the islands from that part of the mainland near the mouth of the Amur River. Pushing southward from Yezo, the Ainu gradually occupied the main island of Honshu and a considerable part of the large southern island of Kyushu. In Kyushu the Ainu came

face to face with a warlike people, probably of Malay origin, who had reached Japan by sea from the south. These people drove the Ainu out of Kyushu and followed them northward into the main island. About the time the Ainu were being driven out of Kyushu a settlement was made in Honshu — in the present province of Idzumo — by immigrants from Korea, who were probably cousins of the warlike peoples of Kyushu, but who had intermarried with Chinese refugees in Korea and had adopted some elements of Chinese civilization.

75. Early Yamato. The invaders from Kyushu and the settlers at Idzumo combined to drive the Ainu out of the western part of Honshu; and together they established a strong state called Yamato. From this state of Yamato the Japanese Empire gradually developed. The various districts of this expanding state were ruled by clan chieftains; and the emperor was, in the beginning, merely the chief of the most powerful clan — the Yamato clan. At the beginning of the Christian Era the state of Yamato probably did not extend much beyond the limits of the present province of that name. By the third century, however, the Yamato government had extended its power westward as far as the Strait of Shimonoseki, so that it ruled over all of Honshu from the Gulf of Owari to the western extremity and over the northern coasts of Kyushu and Shikoku. The southern parts of these two islands were still held by independent tribes related to the Yamato people; and there seems to have been another independent state, of the same race, somewhere near the present site of Tokyo. Yezo and the northern part of Honshu remained in the hands of the Ainu. In the year 200, just at the opening of the third century of the Christian Era, Japanese history records an invasion and conquest of Korea by an expedition under the Empress Jingo. No such invasion and conquest actually occurred at that date, but by this time Yamato had begun to have intercourse with Korea, and Chinese civilization was beginning to find its way into Japan from this direction.

76. Relations with Korea. Since the people of southern Korea were closely related to those who had reached Japan from the south, there had been from very early times considerable intercourse between the two countries. This intercourse was particularly close between the islands and the southern extremity of the peninsula; indeed, during the fifth century the Yamato government had more authority over the

AINU MEN

In northern Honshu and in Yezo there are still some descendants of these earliest known inhabitants of Japan

tribes of Kaya than it had over the people in the southern part of the island of Kyushu. It was the kingdom of Pakche, in Korea, whose relations with the Japanese were most important. In the course of the constant wars between the Korean Three Kingdoms (§ 69), Pakche often appealed to the Yamato government for military assistance against its rivals. Therefore the government of Pakche steadily cultivated the friendship of Yamato, and it was from Pakche that the Japanese received most of their early knowledge of Chinese

civilization. In 405 a scholar from Pakche became the tutor of the ruler of Yamato and thus brought into Japan the use of the Chinese written language. In 552 the king of Pakche, threatened with a combined attack by Koguryu and Silla, was in great need of aid. He therefore sent to the Yamato emperor, as presents, some of his most treasured possessions; these included a golden image of Buddha and some volumes of the Buddhist scriptures, and with them were sent Buddhist missionaries to explain the doctrines of the new religion.

During the century which followed there was a great deal of intercourse between the two countries: scholars, artists, and Buddhist missionaries flocked to Japan, bringing with them all that they had learned of Chinese culture. Finally, when Pakche was conquered in 660, several thousand refugees from the conquered country fled to Japan, where they were welcomed and were given lands upon which to settle. After the unification of southern Korea under the Sillan king, the intercourse between Japan and Korea almost completely ceased, and for the next six hundred years Korea is hardly mentioned in Japanese history. There were two reasons for this decline in the relations between the two countries: in the first place, the government of Silla had always been hostile to the Japanese, whom it knew chiefly as pirates accustomed to plunder and ravage its coast towns; in the second place, the Japanese had already come to realize that the civilization of Korea was Chinese in origin, and they had begun, early in the seventh century, to go directly to the Chinese source for their culture and learning.

77. Shinto. Long before the Yamato people began to get their first real knowledge of Chinese and Korean civilization, they had developed a religion of their own. This religion was very simple, and it consisted in the worship of spirits, or, as they are called in Japanese, *Kami*. Some of these *Kami* were the forces of nature, such as the sun, the moon, thunder, and lightning. Rivers, mountains, lakes, and even great trees also

had spirits which should be worshiped. Other *Kami*, which were just as important as the nature spirits, were the spirits of ancient heroes and tribal ancestors. The ancestors of each clan became the chief *Kami* of that clan; and the earliest ancestors of the imperial clan were gradually accepted as the *Kami* of the whole nation. At the same time each family worshiped the spirits of its own private ancestors, which were regarded as the guardian *Kami* of the household. Thus the early religion, which has continued down to the present day, is a mixture of nature worship and ancestor worship. Indeed, the two kinds of *Kami* sometimes became combined, and the earliest ancestor of the imperial family has long been identified with the Sun Goddess. After the introduction of Chinese writing, the Japanese began to call their religion by the Chinese name "Shinto," which means "The Way of the Gods"; and this is the name by which it is known to the outside world today.

A View at Nikko

Through the arch of a typical Shinto torii is seen the roof of a Buddhist temple

78. Shinto and Buddhism. Shinto teaches almost nothing about a future life; its temples are very simple reproductions of the earliest Japanese buildings, such houses as were used by the "divine ancestors"; and it has given to Japanese art almost nothing except those beautifully simple structures known

as torii. The moral teaching of Shinto can be summed up in a single sentence, "Honor the gods and be loyal to their descendants." Shinto was, and still is, the religion of a warrior people by whom loyalty is regarded as the one and all-important virtue. It does not concern itself with the mysteries of human sin and suffering; it contains no consolation for the sorrowing, no sympathy for the weak.

Buddhism, as we have already seen, differs from Shinto on almost every point. It originated in Gautama's attempt to solve the great mysteries of human life, and it has always been a religion of pity and compassion. Because it is filled with the spirit of tenderness and love for humanity, Buddhism, unlike Shinto, developed a religious art of the highest order.

The introduction of Buddhism in 552 was soon followed by a bitter conflict between the supporters of the national faith and those who were in favor of the new religion. This conflict was mainly a struggle between two powerful families who used the religious question as a pretext. Finally the Soga family, the chief supporters of Buddhism, overcame its rivals, and Buddhism was definitely adopted as the court religion. From this time Shinto and Buddhism existed side by side, as they do today. The older faith long continued to be the popular religion of the great mass of the people, but in the court Buddhism occupied the first place. Here the foreign religion fostered the development of art and culture, so that the artistic history of Japan can be said to begin with Buddhism. But Buddhism, the introduction of which had been marked by political strife, continued to be involved in political affairs, and throughout the later history of Japan the great Buddhist organizations have often used their power for political rather than for religious ends.

79. Shotoku Taishi (A.D. 593–621). After the official adoption of Buddhism the Soga family became all-powerful at the imperial court of Yamato; and in 593 the head of the family was able to put his niece, the widow of a previous emperor,

upon the throne. The son of this empress, who acted as regent during the next twenty-eight years, was the famous Shotoku Taishi, one of the finest characters in all Japanese history. Prince Shotoku was a sincere believer in the teachings of Buddha; and he seems to have been a man of great artistic ability, since tradition credits him with having been the sculptor of a remarkable wooden Kwannon, which is now kept in the little nunnery of Chuguji, at Horiuji, near Nara. In his administration of the country Shotoku Taishi had two objects: in the first place, he wanted to put the government upon a religious and moral foundation, rather than upon a foundation of mere force; in the second place, he endeavored to strengthen the authority of the central government by taking away from the clan chieftains some of the powers which they had formerly possessed. In 604 Shotoku therefore issued an edict containing seventeen clauses which were to regulate the officials in the future performance of their duties. This edict established five ranks among the nobles and emphasized the duty of the officials to rule benevolently the people under their control. It also stated that the nobles and officials were *vassals* of the emperor, and that they had no authority except such as the emperor permitted them to exercise in his name.

80. Intercourse with China. The old Yamato government had been a government by clan chieftains, and the emperor had been merely the chief of the most powerful clan, to whom the other chiefs looked up as a ruler strong enough to command their respect. Shotoku Taishi's ideas of a government in which the local rulers were to be merely the vassals of the emperor were ideas that had come into Japan from China along with the Confucian Classics. Although much of the Chinese civilization had reached Japan by way of Korea, there had already been periods of direct intercourse between Japan and China. This intercourse had been interrupted about the beginning of the sixth century, but during the regency of Shotoku it was resumed. In 607 an embassy was

dispatched to the Chinese capital at Lo-yang, and the next year saw eight Japanese scholars sent to China for the purpose of study. Some of these scholars remained in China for more than thirty years and came back with a thorough knowledge of Chinese civilization and government. Ten years after the reopening of direct communication between Japan and China, the Tang dynasty was established on the Chinese throne. The Tang emperors moved their capital to Si-an-fu; and this new capital soon became famous throughout all eastern Asia for its splendor and culture. Thus the first embassy and the first group of Japanese scholars were followed by a constant stream of Japanese visitors to the Chinese court, and China exerted a constantly increasing influence upon the art, literature, and political ideas of Japan.

81. The Taikwa Reform. Since their victory in the struggle over the introduction of Buddhism (§ 78) the Soga family had been supreme in the affairs of the imperial court. The head of the family was able to depose old emperors and make new ones whenever he felt like doing so. The emperors were forced to marry ladies of the Soga family, so that the Soga chief was usually the grandfather, uncle, or father-in-law of the nominal ruler. Twenty years after the death of Shotoku Taishi the new head of the Soga clan began to plot to put himself upon the throne. This plot aroused bitter opposition in the court, and in 645 both he and his son were seized and put to death. The power now fell into the hands of a group of able men, who determined upon a complete reorganization in the machinery of government. This reorganization, which was gradually worked out during the next twenty-five years, is known as the Taikwa Reform, and it established a system of government that continued almost without change until the creation of the Shogunate, five centuries later.

At the head of the Taikwa reformers stood two men of unusual ability. The first of these was the imperial prince Naka no Oye, heir apparent to the throne. Although Naka

no Oye might have become emperor in 645 if he had wished to assume the office, he preferred to carry on the government until 668 as regent for the nominal rulers; then, as the Emperor Tenchi, he finally ascended the throne for a brief reign of three years. The second reform leader was Nakatomi no Kamatari, the founder of the powerful Fujiwara family and one of the greatest men whom Japan has ever produced. In their work of reform, Naka no Oye and Kamatari were greatly aided by two of the scholars who had been sent to China in 608; and the reform movement completed the process — actually begun by Shotoku Taishi — of establishing in Japan a centralized government similar to that of the Chinese Empire.

82. How the Reform was Accomplished. In taking their first steps the reformers had to be very careful not to arouse the fear and resentment of the powerful clan chieftains, but each step added a little to the strength of the central government, and each addition of strength made it possible to take a fresh step toward centralizing the power in the hands of the emperor and his advisers. At first they merely adopted the calendar used by the Chinese and created three ministers of state, whose names were new but whose powers seemed to be almost the same as those of earlier court officials. Then they introduced a new oath of allegiance to the emperor, an oath which the clan chieftains probably regarded as quite meaningless and harmless. The next move was the appointment of eight imperial governors, who were to rule over the eastern provinces, — the districts which had been most recently conquered and which were still being troubled by the attacks of the Ainu. After these first cautious steps the work of reform went on with ever-increasing vigor. The clan chieftains were gradually deprived of their former power, and new systems of landholding and taxation were introduced. Finally, by the end of the reign of Emperor Tenchi in 671, the reorganization of the central administration along Chinese lines was com-

pleted by the establishment of eight departments of state and a hundred subordinate bureaus.

83. Japanese and Chinese Government. In all its outward forms the newly organized government was a close imitation of the Chinese; yet the reformers failed to adopt the most important feature of the Chinese system. Since the days of the Han dynasty (§ 55) official rank in China had been open to all classes of society, and officials were chosen by means of competitive examinations in a number of subjects, including the social and political philosophy of the Confucian Classics. By this arrangement the Chinese emperor was able to surround himself with the ablest men of the empire, and these men usually had little sympathy with the ambitions of the military class. The Japanese reformers did not adopt this method of selecting officials. Scholarship among the Japanese did not become a path to public service; officeholding remained the privilege of a small military and landholding class, which had little sympathy for the common people and which only occasionally produced men of especial ability. This aristocracy

THE YAKUSHIJI PAGODA, NEAR NARA

This pagoda, remarkable for its curious double roofs, was erected A.D. 680. It is regarded as the oldest existing specimen of Japanese architecture; the buildings at Horiuji, which are somewhat older, were erected by Korean architects

was constantly striving to gain control over the emperor, or to reduce the imperial power so that its friends might do as they pleased in their separate domains.

84. A National Capital. So long as the Japanese emperor had been little more than a powerful clan chief, there had been no need for a permanent capital, and the imperial court had been accustomed to move about freely from place to place. After the Taikwa Reform, however, this constant moving became more and more inconvenient. The great ministers, the eight departments, and the hundred bureaus all needed offices in which to carry on their work of administration, while the provincial officials had to know where to direct the reports which they sent regularly to their superiors. In 710, therefore, the city of Nara was laid out as an exact replica of the Chinese capital at Si-an-fu, and this became the first permanent capital of Japan. Nara continued to be the capital for seventy-four years, until the emperor Kwammu moved his court away from the city in order to avoid the growing influence of the Buddhist institutions. In 794, ten years after leaving Nara, Kwammu established a new capital at Kyoto, and this city served as the capital of Japan for nearly eleven centuries.

85. "Nippon" — "Japan." During the seventy-four years in which the capital was located at Nara, Chinese influence over Japanese ideas and institutions was at its height. Nara, as we have seen, was planned as an exact imitation of the Chinese capital; and a few years before the city was built Japan had adopted a code of laws based upon the laws of the Chinese Tang dynasty. In 712 the traditional stories of early Japanese history were gathered together in the *Kojiki*; eight years later these were all rewritten in the *Nihonji*. But the authors of the *Nihonji* were not satisfied with merely retelling the stories of the *Kojiki*. To make their chronicle more impressive, events and speeches were taken bodily from Chinese history and were recorded as part of the early history of Japan.

It was at this time, moreover, that the country received — also from China — the name by which it has since been known. Hitherto the Japanese had called their country Yamato, but early in the Nara period a communication from the Chinese emperor addressed the Japanese ruler as the Emperor of Tai-nyih-pung-kok (literally, "Great-Sun-Rise-Kingdom"). The Japanese regarded this as a suitable name for their country, and from that time "Dai Nippon" or "Nippon" has been the official name of the empire. Nearly six centuries later, when Marco Polo was in China he heard the island empire referred to as "Nyih-pung-kok" or "Jih-pung-kok." In his book of travels he described this land, which he had never seen, under the name "Chipango," from which we get our modern name "Japan."

86. Rise of the Fujiwaras. One of the two great leaders in the Taikwa Reform was Nakatomi no Kamatari. In the twenty-four years between the beginning of the reform movement and his death in 669, Kamatari played a very inconspicuous part in public affairs; yet he was always the trusted adviser of Naka no Oye, who afterward became the Emperor Tenchi, and was one of the most important supporters of the new government. Upon the death of Kamatari, Emperor Tenchi conferred high honors on him and gave him and his descendants the family name of Fujiwara. Kamatari's immediate descendants held a number of high state offices during the Nara period; and one of them was responsible for placing on the throne the strong emperor Kwammu, who transferred the capital from Nara to Kyoto. But it was not until about half a century after the establishment of the new capital that the Fujiwara family began to exercise the power that has made it so famous in Japanese history.

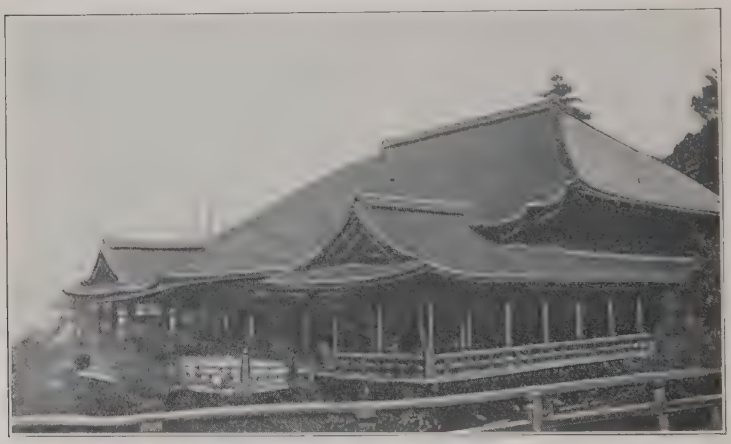
In 842 Fujiwara Yoshifusa, two of whose sisters were wives of the ruling emperor, had his nephew named as heir to the throne. Nine years later this nephew ascended the throne as Emperor Montoku and was compelled to marry one of Yoshi-

fusa's daughters. When Montoku died in 858, Yoshifusa's infant grandson was made emperor, and the grandfather became regent of the empire. This was the first time in Japanese history that the regency had been held by a person who was not himself of imperial blood — but it was not the last. For more than two hundred years the Fujiwara family maintained its control of the government, chiefly by the methods that had been employed by Yoshifusa. Successive emperors were compelled to marry ladies of the Fujiwara clan; and only the sons of these Fujiwara empresses were allowed to ascend the throne. If any of these puppet emperors dared to show any desire to govern for himself he was forced to abdicate in favor of an infant son, whose Fujiwara grandfather or uncle would then take the title of regent.

87. Expansion of the Empire. Following the centralization of the imperial power by the Taikwa Reform, there was a constant extension of the territory over which the emperors ruled. In Shikoku and Kyushu islands the kindred tribes were gradually brought to acknowledge the imperial authority; while in the eastern part of the main island the Ainu were steadily driven farther and farther northward. The gradual expansion of the empire meant a constant increase in the duties of the central government. Military governors had to be maintained in the distant provinces of the northeast; there were repeated outbreaks of piracy in the Inland Sea, which had to be suppressed; the powerful landlords in all parts of the empire had to be forced to respect the laws that were laid down by the imperial officials. A few of the Fujiwara leaders showed great energy and ability in dealing with these increasing duties. In general, however, the heads of the Fujiwara were men of only average ability, and the central government soon began to show signs of weakness and decay.

88. Hiyeisan. When Emperor Kwammu moved his capital from Nara to Kyoto, one of his objects had been to get away from the growing influence of the Buddhist monasteries. For

a while this move succeeded in its purpose, but a new set of monasteries gradually began to grow up in the neighborhood of the new capital. A favorite location for these new monasteries was Hiyeisan, a mountain to the east of Kyoto, and the monks of Hiyeisan soon became even more wealthy and powerful than the monks of Nara had been. Hundreds of monasteries grew up on the slopes of the mountain, and these were



THE KIYOMIDZUDERA, KYOTO

Although the monasteries of Hiyeisan were destroyed in the sixteenth century by Nobunaga, the hills to the east of Kyoto continued to be the site of numerous Buddhist establishments. The Kiyomidzudera temple is one of the most beautiful and is visited by many pilgrims

the homes of thousands of monks. Many of the monks were really very religious men and contributed greatly to the religious thought of their country, but there were many others who liked nothing better than to march down into Kyoto and engage in some sort of fight. The Fujiwara leaders unintentionally added greatly to the political importance of the monasteries. In order to maintain their supreme position in the government, the Fujiwara chiefs rigidly excluded from office all able men who were not members of their own clan. Such

men were usually compelled to enter Buddhist monasteries so that they would be disqualified from taking any part in public affairs. As a result of this policy, the monasteries on Hiyeisan always contained a number of clever political schemers who were quite ready to work against the government. Since these political schemers had at their command the thousands of turbulent monks connected with the monasteries, they were often able to exert a great deal of influence upon affairs in the capital. During the rule of the Fujiwaras, and later during the rule of the Taira family, the monks of Hiyeisan took an active part in almost every struggle that broke out in the city of Kyoto. The political influence of Hiyeisan did not actually end until Nobunaga, about the middle of the sixteenth century, attacked the mountain, burned the monasteries, and ruthlessly slaughtered the thousands of monks whom he found there.

89. The Cloistered Emperors. In 1072 Emperor Sanjo II voluntarily abdicated his throne and retired into a monastery, from which place of retirement he directed the government of his son Shirakawa. Sanjo II lived only about a year after taking this step, but fourteen years later his example was followed by his son Shirakawa. From 1086 until his death in 1129, Shirakawa was the "power behind the throne"; and Shirakawa's grandson Toba held a similar position from 1129 to 1156. These Cloistered Emperors, as they are called, put an end to the Fujiwara domination and restored to the imperial family — for a while — the power which had been taken away by its Fujiwara grandfathers, uncles, and fathers-in-law. After the death of Toba other emperors tried to follow the same policy of ruling from the cloister; but these later emperors were not so successful, for by the end of Toba's rule the civil government at Kyoto had become so corrupt that it was no longer able to control the empire, — the real power had passed out of the hands of the civil officials into those of the powerful military leaders.

90. The Daimyos. As a means of enforcing respect for the law outside the capital, the Fujiwara government had early instituted the practice of filling provincial offices with members of the rising military families. When it came to collecting taxes or suppressing highway robbery, a local landowner with

THE BIODOIN, UJI, NEAR NARA

This little building, erected in the eleventh century, is an especially beautiful relic of the Fujiwara period

a body of soldiers at his command would be much more successful than a civil official sent out from Kyoto. These landowners were divided into two classes: those who held small tracts and had few followers were called Shomyos ("Small Names"); those who held large tracts and had many followers were called Daimyos ("Great Names"). In the tenth century even the Daimyos were not very powerful — a man who could summon five or six hundred fighting men would have been regarded as an exceedingly great lord; so the Fujiwara statesmen probably did not realize the dangers of their policy. But by the middle of the twelfth century the Daimyos

had made themselves rulers over great districts, and many of them were able to call thousands of well-trained soldiers to follow them into battle. Like the feudal lords in China under the Chou dynasty, the Daimyos had made themselves practically independent rulers, and they looked with contempt upon the soft-handed civil officials at Kyoto. So long as the Daimyos were engaged in private wars against each other there was little danger of their attempting to get control of the imperial government; but as soon as one of these military families became strong enough to crush its rivals, the civil authorities would be helpless against attack. The Daimyos were especially powerful in the eastern part of the main island. In the district known as the Kwanto, which surrounds the present Tokyo Bay, there were a number of warlike families who had received great estates as rewards for their services against the Ainu in the north. Many miles of mountainous country lay between the Kwanto and Kyoto; and the Kwanto Daimyos, when they were not engaged in fighting against the Ainu, carried on bitter private wars among themselves without interference from the emperor.

91. Taira and Minamoto. By the middle of the twelfth century two of the most powerful military clans were the Taira and the Minamoto. Both of these families had originally become prominent in the Kwanto, although the Taira had later moved westward into the province of Ise. When the Cloistered Emperor Toba died, the Fujiwara chief tried to reëstablish the power of his family by overthrowing Shirakawa II, the new Cloistered Emperor, but Shirakawa II defeated this attempt by calling the Taira and Minamoto leaders to his assistance. Four years later, in 1160, a bitter conflict broke out between these two military families; the Taira were victorious in the struggle, and the leaders of the Minamoto family were all put to death. At the massacre of the Minamoto, however, the lives of four Minamoto children were spared, and one of these children was a twelve-year-old boy named Yoritomo.

For twenty years the Taira exercised absolute power at Kyoto. Following the Fujiwara example, the Taira chief compelled emperors and ex-emperors to marry ladies of the Taira family, and in 1180 Taira Kiyomori was able to put his infant grandson upon the imperial throne. Even before this great event the pride and cruelty of the Taira chief had aroused bitter hatred against him, and revolts now began to break out in various parts of the country. The revolts near Kyoto, which had been stirred up by the monks of Hiyeisan, were quickly suppressed, but in the distant eastern provinces the boy Yoritomo, now thirty-two years old, was making himself master of the Kwanto and was gathering an army strong enough to destroy his father's murderers. In these twenty years Yoritomo had developed great ability and had gained the friendship and respect of the eastern Daimyo, while a fortunate marriage had given him a father-in-law who was one of the cleverest politicians in Japan. In August, 1183, the Minamoto forces were able to drive the Taira out of the capital. Western Japan was still held by the Taira and their friends, but in April, 1185, the Taira power was completely destroyed in the naval battle of Dan-no-ura at the western end of the Inland Sea.

92. The Kamakura Shogunate. Seven years after the battle of Dan-no-ura, Yoritomo received from the emperor a commission as Sei-i-tai-Shogun ("Barbarian-Subduing-Great-General"). This office had been created nearly four centuries earlier, and it gave to the holder absolute authority over all the military forces of the empire. Before the time of Yoritomo the appointments to this post had always been temporary, and the commissions had been canceled at the end of the particular war for which they were issued. But Yoritomo's appointment was not limited in time; he was to hold the office for life, and when he died the title was to pass to his successor. Thus he and his descendants were made military rulers of the empire and received supreme power over all the Daimyo. Emperors

A Portion of the Heiji Monogatari Scroll

This remarkable specimen of Japanese art, of which only a small section can be shown here, is twenty-three feet long. In a series of panoramic scenes it records the events of a struggle, in January, 1160, between the Minamoto and the Taira. Here we see the Minamoto forces, after a surprise attack upon the enemy, escorting the captive emperor in triumph to their own headquarters; a few days later the Taira once more gained the upper hand and became masters of the imperial court. The second mounted figure in the picture is Minamoto Yoshitomo, whose son, Yoritomo, later overthrew the Taira power and established (in 1192) the Kamakura Shogunate. Attributed to the Japanese artist Heion (first half of the thirteenth century). (Original in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

still sat upon the throne; courtiers still plotted and intrigued at Kyoto; but the Shogun and his advisers were now the actual government of the country. This political arrangement, by which a hereditary Shogun became the real ruler of the empire, continued for nearly seven hundred years as a characteristic feature of Japanese government. The military organization of the Shogun and his advisers is known as the Shogunate, and because of the location of its headquarters the Shogunate of Yoritomo and his descendants is called the Kamakura Shogunate.

The Daibutsu at Kamakura

The Fujiwara and Taira leaders had lived at Kyoto, where they could control the affairs of the imperial court, but Yoritomo adopted a different policy. He saw that the luxurious life of the capital soon corrupted military men and made them fond of ease, so he established his military capital at Kamakura in the Kwanto. From Kamakura the Shogunate controlled the country by appointing loyal vassals to be Daimyos over all the important fiefs. Yoritomo and his advisers drew up a new code of laws and established new law courts, which were honest and efficient in their settlement of cases. He also created a new set of administrative boards to oversee the general management of affairs, and scholars from Kyoto — who had no hope of holding government posts at the capital — were invited to Kamakura and appointed to membership on these boards.

Like all great men, the founder of the Kamakura Shogunate had his weak points, the most serious of which was his attitude toward the members of his family. He constantly suspected his nearest relatives of plotting against him, and when such suspicions were once aroused, he never rested until the suspected person had been put to death. But Yoritomo was always able to coöperate with able men who were not members of his own family. In addition to the scholars whom he invited from Kyoto to become officers of his administration, he gathered around him the most capable of the Kwanto Daimyos. With the help of these men he built up an organization which, for nearly a century and a half after his death in 1199, continued to be strong and efficient. Just as the emperors had already become figureheads, in whose name the government was managed by the Fujiwaras, by the Tairas, and finally by the Shoguns, so the Shogunate, in turn, became an organization in which the real power was held by a body of capable officials governing in the name of Yoritomo's successors. Under the management of these able officials the Kamakura Shogunate ruled the empire until 1333. During the greater part of this period the Japanese enjoyed internal peace and prosperity, and Japan was probably more efficiently governed than any country of contemporary Europe.

93. Relations with China after the Ninth Century. Toward the close of the ninth century the splendor of the Chinese Tang dynasty had greatly declined, and the Japanese government had abandoned the practice of sending embassies to the Chinese emperor. But there continued to be intercourse between the two countries, and this intercourse continued to influence Japanese development. Chinese merchant ships frequently arrived at Japanese ports, especially the ports of Kyushu, and Chinese goods were eagerly sought by Japanese purchasers. At this time the Japanese were far behind the Chinese in the art of shipbuilding, but some of their vessels occasionally reached the shores of China. In 1215 the son and

successor of Yoritomo decided that he would like to visit China, so he employed a Chinese shipbuilder to construct a suitable ship at Kamakura. The ship turned out to be a failure, however, and the proposed trip was never made. About the same time "bills of exchange" began to be used in the trade of Kamakura, and it is probable that this commercial convenience was introduced by the Shogun's Chinese shipbuilder. A quarter of a century before this — in the lifetime of Yoritomo — the tea plant was reintroduced into Japan from China. The first introduction of tea had taken place in the early part of the ninth century, at which time it had failed to gain any popularity. But in 1191, the year before Yoritomo received his commission as Shogun, a Buddhist monk returning from China brought with him some seeds of the tea plant and planted them near Kyoto. This time the Chinese herb was successful in winning the popular favor, and tea soon came to be regarded as a most valued luxury. The introduction of tea drinking created a demand for finer pottery. Hitherto the Japanese had done little in this direction, but in 1230 a Japanese potter, after spending six years in China studying the art of the Chinese potters, returned home and became the first maker of fine Japanese porcelain ware.

In religious affairs the influence of China was, perhaps, not quite so strong during this period. The great leaders of Japanese Buddhism in the eighth and ninth centuries were men who had spent long years in study at the Chinese monasteries. After the ninth century this was not always the case, and many of the later religious leaders were men who had never been outside Japan. But Japanese monks did continue to visit China for the purpose of study, and these monks, returning to Japan, often had a great influence upon the Buddhism of their own country. This era of peaceful relations between Japan and her great continental neighbor lasted until near the end of the thirteenth century; then it was violently interrupted by the rising power of the conquering Mongols.

QUESTIONS

I. Who is the first emperor named in Japanese histories? When is he supposed to have come to the throne? Who were the earliest inhabitants of the islands? By what other people were these early inhabitants driven out? What was the state of Yamato? How was Yamato ruled? When were writing and Buddhism introduced into Japan?

II. What is Shinto? How does it differ from Buddhism? What conflict followed the introduction of Buddhism? Who was Shotoku Taishi? What changes did he make in the government? What was the Taikwa Reform? Who were the chief reformers? Where did they get their new political ideas? Why did Japan need a permanent capital after the Taikwa Reform? Where was the first capital?

III. How did the Fujiwara family establish its power over the government? Where was the capital transferred in 794? How did Hiyeisan become important? Who were the Cloistered Emperors? What was a Daimyo? Where was the Kwanto? How did the Taira clan become powerful?

IV. Who was Yoritomo? Why did he hate the Taira clan? What was the Shogunate? When was the Kamakura Shogunate established? Why was its capital located at Kamakura? How long did the Kamakura Shogunate endure? What were some of the effects of Japan's intercourse with China after the ninth century?

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

Compare the achievements of Shotoku Taishi with those of (*a*) Augustus Cæsar, (*b*) Cavour.

Do you think that the establishment of the Shogunate was beneficial or harmful to Japan? Why?

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CHAPTER IX

INDIAN CIVILIZATION IN MALAYSIA AND INDO-CHINA TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SUMATRAN CAPITAL OF THE BUDDHIST EMPIRE OF SRI-VISHAYA

Third century B.C.	Chinese begin to settle in Tongking and Annam
First century of Christian Era.	Beginning of Pallava colonization
A.D. 1 (traditional).	Aji Saka founds a Hindu state in Java
A.D. 435.	Founding of Kambodja (modern Cambodia)
Eighth to twelfth century of Christian Era.	Great period of building in Indo-China and Malaysia
Ninth century of Christian Era.	Kambodja united under Jaya-varman
A.D. 982.	First Chinese records referring to trade with Ma-i (Mindoro)
Eleventh century of Christian Era.	Sri-Vishaya empire at its height
A.D. 1377.	The downfall of Sri-Vishaya

94. Population in Malaysia at the Beginning of Historic Period. We have discussed in Chapter IV the racial classification and characteristics of the various migrations of peoples who entered Malaysia before the beginning of the Christian Era. The cultural changes since the time of the earliest Hindu settlements have been very great, although the physical characteristics of the people have remained unchanged. A constant blend of the earlier races has been going on during historic times, and for that reason the population of the principal islands of Malaysia is certainly very much more uniform today than it was two thousand years ago. The Malay type has been constantly absorbing a larger and larger proportion of the total population, whereas the purer remnants of the original types have constantly been decreasing in number and becoming confined to smaller and more widely scattered areas.

In our study of the Malay world we must remember that the "historic period" begins there at a date much later than was the case in China, Korea, or India; later even than in Japan. Real history begins when we are able not merely to record events but to record them in the order in which they happened. For such records it is generally necessary that the people of the country possess a written language and a satisfactory system of chronology or that they be in close communication with some neighboring land where the art of writing and a satisfactory system of dates exist. As the Malay peoples did not *invent* any system of writing, it was not until this art reached them from abroad that they began to keep written records upon which historical study can be based. There are, however, certain *unwritten* records which enable us to learn something of their history for periods preceding their development of writing. These unwritten records are the implements, the ruins, and the sculptured fragments from which archæologists have reconstructed a partial story of the past.

95. Early General History of Malaysia and Indo-China. The development of historical civilization in Indo-China and Malaysia is bound up with the history of southern India. As we have already seen in connection with India, the whole history of South India from nearly a thousand years before Christ down to the Mohammedan conquest has been essentially the history of three great dynasties, — the Pandaya, the Pallava, and the Chola. It is with the Pallavas, however, that we are most directly concerned in the matter of "Further Indian" (Malayan) history.

Some of the essential facts of Pallava history have already been set down in connection with India, as well as a description of those Indian conditions which stimulated Pallava expansion overseas in search of new home lands not subject to constant invasions by their northern enemies.

96. The Early Pallava Colonies. There is still some doubt as to just where in Malaysia the first Pallava settlement was

made, but it is quite certain that between the first century B.C. and the second century of the Christian Era five important colonies had been established by the Pallavas in Indo-China. These were (1) a settlement in Cambodia; (2) one in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula; (3) in the Palembang River valley in Sumatra; (4) in central Java; (5) in eastern Borneo. It is probable also that a sixth colony was established at almost as early a date near the present city of Kedah, on the upper part of the Malay Peninsula. They were all Brahman colonies, the rulers of which bore Pallava names. However, in some of the colonies at least, the rulers were originally from the native population and had only been given Pallava titles and names.

The early history of these Pallava colonies in Further India is still very vague. The period between the original founding of these colonies and the beginning of the seventh century was one of slow growth in which considerable regions around the original settlements were brought under their control and influence, but during which no really great or powerful empires were established by any one of them. Sometime between the fourth century and the seventh century the colonies in Sumatra and in the Malay Peninsula changed from Brahman states to Buddhist ones. From Sumatra as a center then began an active propagation of the Buddhist faith into surrounding regions, and practically all of Hindu Malaysia became Buddhist.

From the middle of the seventh century onward we get a sufficiently complete series of both foreign accounts and native records and can reconstruct the principal happenings with some degree of accuracy.

97. Indo-China. Although ancient Chinese records indicate that Chinese had visited Cambodia as early as the twelfth century B.C. and that they actually began to settle in Tongking and Annam in the third century B.C., our real history of this region does not begin until some time after the earliest Hindu settlements (probably of Pallava), which were made in

the first and second centuries of the Christian Era. Even the early history of the Hindu settlements is very vague. It seems likely that the earliest colony was located in the region afterwards known as Champa on the eastern coast of the present Annam, and it is definitely known that the city of Pandurañgan was founded there A.D. 250.

The second seat of Indian culture centered around the city of Kambodja (modern Cambodia), which was founded A.D. 435. While Champa always continued to occupy an important place in commerce and trade, it was only at Cambodia that a great religious center filled with buildings and temples of stone grew up. Here in Cambodia, as well as in central Java and in the Pallava motherland itself, an energetic competition between Brahmanism and Buddhism seems to have expressed itself chiefly in building. The land was covered with cities and temples of stone which represent a high type of artistic development.

98. The People and Early Empires of Indo-China. The great building period in Indo-China extended from the beginning of the eighth clear down to the twelfth century (in Java it was most evident from the eighth to the tenth century). The people to whom these cities and buildings are ascribed were probably not of the native stock generally known as Mon Khmer, but were outsiders who had come to Indo-China by sea either directly from India itself or from the Pallava settlements in Sumatra and Java.

The first record we have of a king in Indo-China bearing a Pallava name is from the fourth century of the Christian Era, when a Pallava Brahman by the name of Kaundinya came from the Pallava capital of Kanchi and was made king of the old Faunan, the name of which was later changed to Champa. This Kaundinya assumed the surname of Varman, which was the official Pallava title, and it is from him that the later Hindu-Chinese rulers in this portion of the peninsula traced their descent.

Between the fifth and eighth centuries there seem to have been three different Hindu states in Indo-China, which were known as Kambodj, Kambupura, and Vyadhapura; but in the ninth century these were all united under a great king named Jaya-varman. This ruler appears to have been a Buddhist, and some authorities believe that he may have been a

TERRACED RICE FIELDS IN JAVA

This method of cultivation and irrigation is found in Luzon, in China, and in Japan

descendant from the Sri-Vishaya royal house, which at this time was beginning to extend its influence into the Indo-China mainland. Under this Jaya-varman the great Cambodian capital at Angkor was begun, and during the time of his successor, Yaso-varman, the building of Angkor was practically completed. From this time on down to the end of the twelfth century a great and united empire existed in Indo-China, which reached its maximum of development under King Jaya-varman VIII, who was the last of the Great Kings. The in-

fluence exerted by Champa and Cambodia on the islands and groups of the Malay archipelago was chiefly through trade and peaceful intercourse, with apparently little attempt at political domination.

99. The Buddhist Empire in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. The histories of Sumatra and of the Malay Peninsula have always been closely allied, and almost throughout the period covered by our records the two principal centers of Hindu influence on the Malay Peninsula seem to have been under the control of the greater center located in Sumatra. It was not until the Sumatran forests were explored in the interests of rubber plantations that the ruins of the old capital were actually discovered. It is now definitely established, however, that, although the original settlement may have been down near the river mouth on the northeast coast of Sumatra, when the Hindu colonies began to build a permanent city for their capital they chose the hills and plateaus of the interior, and a group of not less than eight or nine sizable cities once existed on the Sumatran highlands at a distance of from a hundred and twenty to a hundred and eighty miles inland. The central city of this group appears to have been located in the high, broad valley where the principal mountain streams meet to form the Palembang River. A port for this great city was located in the swampy land near the mouth of that river itself.

100. The Culture of Sri-Vishaya. Chinese accounts from about the tenth century describe the mountain capital as being a fortified city surrounded by a thick wall made of bricks, said to be "several tens of li in circumference." Some of the larger buildings and temples were of stone or brick.

In the beginning of the eleventh century a number of bronze bells were sent by the emperor of China as a gift to the king of the Sumatran state, and were erected in one of the largest Buddhist temples. The character of the civilization existing there is indicated by the fact that the gifts sent in return by the Sumatran king to the emperor of China consisted of pearls,

ivory, Sanskrit books folded between boards, and accompanying slaves, bearing a letter inscribed in Indian characters on a golden plate.

101. Expansion of Sri-Vishaya. The most interesting feature of this Sumatran capital, however, lies in the expansion of its influence over surrounding areas and into the outlying island regions of Malaysia. From the very beginning, shipping and commerce must have been prime factors in the life of the Hindu-Malayan colonies. From time to time between the seventh and twelfth centuries Chinese and Arabian writers have given us lists of outlying ports and colonies which were subject to this Sumatran state, lists constantly increasing up to the eleventh century, which appears to have been the period when the empire reached its maximum of development. The area included at that time is well indicated on the accompanying map.

The most remarkable feature in the series of settlements made by the Sumatran state lies in the fact that they are always in pairs, located with a remarkable perception of the strategic values of the straits and passages between the different islands of Malaysia. An important settlement will always be found on each side of all the principal straits, such as the Malacca Strait between Sumatra and the Peninsula, the Sundra Strait between Sumatra and Java, the Molucca Strait east of Celebes. Where these straits are long and wide a series of settlements will be found on each of the opposing shores, always in places where important rivers reach the coast, or where good harbors still exist at the present time. Often at the mouth of a large river two settlements will be found, one on either bank, through which the Indian commerce passing up and down that river might be controlled.

One of the important channels used by Chinese ships after they began regular voyages to India was a little strait which lies between Singapore Island and the mainland of the Malay Peninsula. It seems evident that Singapore Island was the

SRI-VISHAYA. (Prepared, from original sources, by H. Otley Beyer)

seat of an important trade center, at that time known as Singgapura. There was also a settlement on the opposite side near the spot where the city of Johore is now located, and numerous Chinese writers mention the fact that the Sumatrans had blocked this strait with a huge iron chain stretched from shore to shore, which no ship was allowed to pass until after it had paid a heavy toll to the Sumatran ruler.

102. Overthrow of Sri-Vishaya. The downfall of Sumatran power was brought about through the increasing rivalry of the rapidly growing Brahman state in East Java, which began to encroach upon Sumatran territory as early as the twelfth century, and finally completed the Indian conquest of the Sumatran empire in 1377, when the capital city fell into their hands. The old records state that the capital city was utterly destroyed and all its inhabitants killed, but the recent finds of ancient ruins indicate that here as elsewhere the term "complete destruction" was a very flexible one.

On the island of Singapore, however, destruction was much more thorough and wrought such a degree of cruelty on the native inhabitants that for many centuries afterwards no Malay would build his house upon that island. This was doubtless because of the fact that the real basis for enmity between the Sumatran and Javanese empires lay in commercial rivalry as well as in the difference in religion, and that Singapore was the really great trade center of the Sumatran state. Dominating as it did the only favorable trade route to India at that period, it was a source of perpetual annoyance to Javenese commercial ambitions until it was destroyed.

103. The Traditional History of Java under Sri-Vishaya. The island of Java occupies a unique place in the Malaysian history for the reason that only in this island and its eastern neighbor, Bali, has there been preserved an extensive collection of native literature in written form covering a period running far back towards the beginning of the Hindu era. Of course, here as elsewhere much of this early literature is re-

ligious or romantic in character and much of the recorded history had been long preserved in tradition before it was put into written form. Nevertheless, through the aid of supplementary accounts by Chinese and Arabs, it has been possible to correct the faulty chronology of the native records and to confirm from outside sources many of the important events therein recited.

The old language of Java from a thousand to fifteen hundred years ago was known as Kawi, and it was in this language that most of the older literature was recorded. Our earliest data, however, come from the inscriptions on stone monuments and on copper plates, mostly in Sanskrit or in the alphabets of southern India. The historical accounts that still exist in the Kawi language were for the most part originally written from tradition and from very ancient records that have long since disappeared.

The traditional history above referred to ascribed to a ruler named Aji Saka the founding of a Hindu state in Java in the year 1, which persisted under various dynasties down to the time that the Mohammedans destroyed Hindu influence in Java in the fifteenth century. More patient and detailed research into sources of traditional history has indicated that its beginnings are much more valuable as folklore than as real history. The Aji Saka of Javanese tradition, like the Jimmu Tenno of Japan (§ 73) has been credited with a carefully worked-out line of descendants. A reconstruction along modern critical lines indicates that there are many gaps that cannot yet be filled in, and no definite connection has as yet been established between the traditional conquerors and rulers and those of later recorded history.

104. The Buddhist Sri-Vishayans conquer Western Java. The best Dutch historians believe that there were also several Hindu Brahman settlements in eastern Java which may or may not have been offshoots from one original colony, but which in their later history certainly developed into separate

political states. The actual history of these little states is obscure until the beginning of the seventh century and the invasion from the Sumatran empire of Sri-Vishaya.

105. Western Java becomes Buddhist under Sri-Vishaya. By the middle of the eighth century the Sumatran Buddhist influence had established itself over all the western half of Java and had reached the western edge of the great central plain (see map on page 113) which is largely comprehended today in the native states of Djokjakarta and Surakarta. About the beginning of the ninth century there began to develop an organized resistance to Sumatran invasion, which for the first time unified a considerable group of the little independent Hindu-Malayan states; this unification reached its greatest extent during the rule of the great king Erlangga and not only checked but ultimately pushed the Sumatrans farther back into western Java.

The eastern states had a high degree of civilization, and that they were very ardent advocates of Brahmanism is evident from the tremendous construction of religious temples and shrines which marks this period. More than five hundred temples or shrines, some of which rank high among the world's most artistic productions in stone architecture, were erected on and around that central Javan plain between the middle of the seventh century and the middle of the tenth century. At the present time the study of inscriptions on temples and monuments has enabled us to specifically date every one of these great structures and to gain some insight into the motives which led to their construction. The tremendously mixed population which survives to the present day in this central Javan plain testifies to the great number of races and people that were brought together by the Javanese rulers from outlying islands for the tedious and protracted labor necessary in the construction of these great monuments of stone. The central plain of Java today teems with inhabitants who doubtless descended from these early workers, and,

picturesque in their uniform garb of blue, comprise every type found in the various islands of Malaysia, from Mindanao to Sumatra.

The fact that these highly cultured eastern states remained independent is very important in the history of Malaysia, for it was from their resistance to the Sumatran Buddhist empire of Sri-Vishaya that the next great Malayan empire developed — the Javan Brahman empire of Madjapahit.

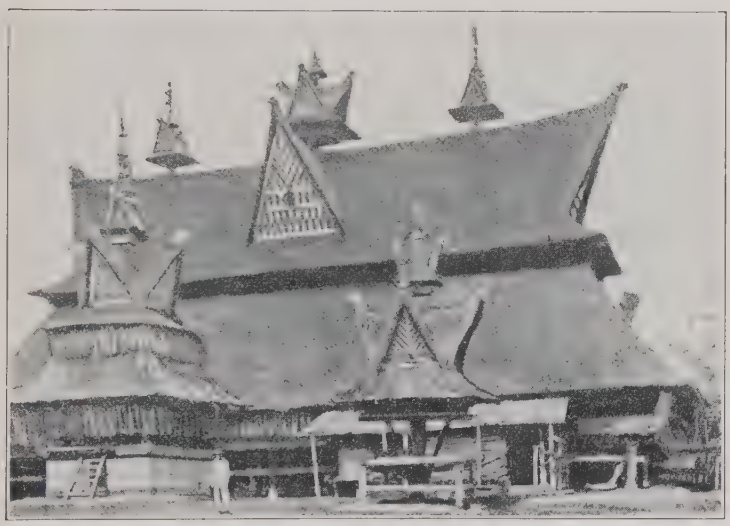
A Buddhist Image, Mendoet

106. Sri-Vishaya Influence in Borneo and in the Philippines; the Northern Extension of Hindu Influence. Both the Sri-Vishaya empire and its successor, the empire of Madjapahit, made their influence felt throughout the whole island of Borneo and covered at least the greater part of the southern Philippines, and at times their influence was extended as far north as the island of Formosa. Throughout these regions, unlike Java and Sumatra, there is a great scarcity of reliable records from either native or foreign sources. The amount of scattered material, however, that has been actually recovered at the present time would astonish an investigator of a few generations ago, when little or nothing of the pre-European history of these areas was known.

107. Pre-Sumatran Influence. The first Hindu influence of which we have a definite record in Borneo was the Kutei settlement on the east coast, the existence of which we know definitely from certain monuments. Whether the influence of the Kutei state extended itself to the southern Philippines is still a question, but the traditional histories of Sulu certainly indicate intercourse with a well-developed civilization earlier than the introduction of Sumatran influence. The earliest civilization in Sulu and the southern Philippines may have come from Indo-China rather than eastern Borneo. Certain scattered finds in the way of coins, types of gold beads, and other jewelry and metal images that have been made around the Manila Bay region and in other islands of the central Philippines seem to indicate a decided Indian influence from an Indo-Chinese source.

108. Sumatran Colonies in Borneo. Sumatran influence was first definitely established in southern Borneo in the region of Sukadana, and a little later at Bandjarmasin. It also seems likely that these colonies were established after Buddhist influence had already become dominant in Sumatra itself. The city of Bruni on the northwest coast of Borneo, on the other hand, seems always to have been unfriendly to Sukadana and Bandjarmasin, and to have had throughout most of its pre-Mohammedan history a decided Brahman leaning rather than a Buddhist one. In fact, during the period of Madjapahit domination Bruni was the most important center in northern Malaysia for the extension of Brahman influence and was used by the Javanese as a base for operations in other islands and regions. Although we do not know the exact date of the founding of Sulu, indications are that it was already well established by the eighth or ninth century of the Christian Era. The "Orang Benjar," as its people are called in Malay chronicles, gradually extended their influence over the whole region from the northeastern part of Borneo to the western part of Mindanao.

109. An Early Chinese Description of Bruni. The records of the Chinese Sung dynasty give important data about the city of Bruni itself. The town is said to have had more than ten thousand inhabitants, and to have been surrounded by a palisade, or a wall made of wooden boards. The king's fighting men carried metal swords and wore coats of armor made of cast copper. Cotton was grown and cotton cloths were woven.



A House in Modern Sumatra

Other details are given as to foods, burial and marriage customs, feasts, etc., all of which are typical of Malay life. Another similar account, relating to Bandjarmasin rather than Bruni, speaks of many people who lived on rafts in the river, exactly as in Sri-Vishaya. Our conclusion from the particulars mentioned above — especially the use of a written language, metal weapons, coat-armor, raft dwellings, and walled towns — must be that at this time Sri-Vishayan civilization had already been firmly established in both southern and northern Borneo and was probably already beginning to make itself felt in the

Philippines. The last surmise is substantiated by the fact that the first actual mention of the Philippines seems also to date from the tenth century, as certain traders from Ma-i, the present island of Mindoro, brought valuable merchandise to Canton for sale in the year 982.

From the twelfth to the fifteenth century, accounts of Bruni, Sulu, Ma-i and others of the Philippine Islands become more numerous.

110. The First Visayan [1] Settlements in Panay. A second colony in the Philippines at a somewhat later date is specifically traceable to Bruni. Regarding this settlement we have much more extended and accurate data owing to the preservation in the island of Panay of certain manuscripts. Apparently nine datos, or high officials, connected with the court of Bruni were forced to leave that country on account of the enmity of the raja at that time ruling the land. These datos, together with their wives and children and a few faithful servants and followers, were secretly escorted out of the country by the raja's chief minister, whose name was Dato Puti. They embarked on nine sailing rafts of the type used by the Visayans in both Sumatra and Borneo, and sailed northward from Borneo along the coast of Palawan, finally crossing the intervening sea and reaching the island of Panay. They landed here at the point which is near the present town of San Joaquin. They had been able to reach the place directly because their little fleet was piloted by a sailor who had previously visited these regions on a ship engaged in commerce and trade.

Soon after the expedition had landed, it came in contact with the native people of the island, who were called Atis. While some writers have interpreted this "Atis" as "Negritos," it is quite evident from the original manuscript that they were not at all a dwarfed primitive people of Negrito type but were rather the tall, dark-skinned Indonesian type that we

[1] The term "Visayan," used in the Philippines and in Borneo, is derived from "Sri-Vishaya."

have referred to (§ 30). These native Atis lived in villages of fairly well-constructed houses and possessed drums and other musical instruments as well as a variety of weapons and personal adornments much superior to those now known among the Negritos.

Negotiations were conducted between the newcomers and the native Atis for the possession of a wide area of land along the coast, centering around the place called Andona at a considerable distance from the original landing-place. Some of the gifts given by the Visayans in exchange for those lands are spoken of as being, first, a string of gold beads so long that it touched the ground when it was worn and, second, a *salakut*, or native hat covered with gold, and a great many beads, combs, and pieces of cloth for the women and fancifully decorated weapons for the men. The sale was celebrated by a feast of friendship between newcomers and natives, following which the latter formally turned over possession of the settlement.

Our manuscript then goes on to relate how a great religious ceremony and sacrifice was performed in honor of the settlers' ancient gods by a priest whom they had brought with them from Borneo. Following this ceremony, the priest indicated that it was the will of the gods that they should settle not at Andona but rather at a place some distance to the east called Malandog, where there was both much fertile agricultural land and an abundant supply of fish in the sea. After nine days the entire group of newcomers was transferred to Malandog. Dato Puti announced that he must now return to Borneo, and he appointed as chief of the Panayan settlement Dato Sumakwel, who was the oldest, wisest, and most educated of the datos.

111. The Settlements in Southern Luzon. Not all the datos, however, remained in Panay. Two of them, with their families and followers, set out with Dato Puti and voyaged northward and, after a number of adventures, arrived finally at the Bay of Taal, which is now Lake Bombon on Luzon. The two ac-

companying datos settled here with their followers, and Dato Puti returned to Borneo by way of Mindoro and Palawan.

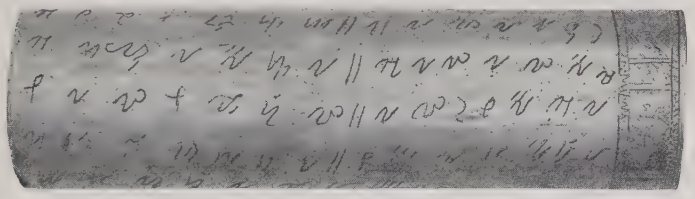
It is evident from the lists of places given in the manuscript that the descendants of the datos who settled on Lake Taal spread out in two general directions, one group settling later around Laguna de Bay and another group pushing southward into the Bicol peninsula. It is interesting to note here that an ancient tomb preserved among the Bicols refers to some of the same gods and personages mentioned in the Panayan manuscript.

The original Panayan settlements continued to grow and later split up into three groups, one of which remained in the original district (Irong-irong) while another settled at the mouth of the Aklan River in northern Panay and the third in the district called Hantik. These settlements continued to exist down to the time of the Spanish régime and formed the centers around which the later population of the three provinces of Iloilo, Capiz, and Antique grew up.

Many interesting details of the laws, government, social customs, and religious beliefs of these early Visayans are recorded in this old manuscript. The date of the manuscript is not certain, but several critics are agreed that the original settlements must have been made within the first half of the thirteenth century.

112. The Extent of Visayan Influence in Borneo and the Philippines. We have seen that the name "Visayan" in the Philippines was first applied only to the natives of Panay and to their settlements eastward in the island of Negros and northward in the smaller islands now comprehended in the province of Romblon. In fact, even at the time when the Spaniards came they used the term "Visayan" only for the areas just mentioned, while the people of Cebu, Bohol, and Leyte were for a long time known only as Pintados. The name "Visayan" was later extended to them because, as several of the early writers state, their languages are closely

allied to the Visayan dialect of Panay. There is a group of people in Borneo who are called "Visayan," and the name was also formerly applied to a group of people in southern Formosa. The Visayans of Borneo, who today number something like three hundred thousand, represent one of the more advanced groups of the lowland agricultural peoples who never adopted Mohammedanism and still retain their old pagan belief with a decided admixture of Hinduism. It seems quite evident from a study of various facts that the Visayans in Borneo and those in the Philippines are not only of common origin but also are closely allied to the peoples of south-central



A Love Letter written in the Mangyan Script

This is one of the two old syllabic scripts of Indian origin still surviving among the pagan peoples of the Philippines

Sumatra. This term is almost certainly a direct survival of the spread of colonies from the pre-Buddhist Sri-Vishaya state into western Borneo and from there into the central Philippines and probably also into southern Formosa.

113. Hindu Writing in Borneo and the Philippines. Some mention must be made of the early writing used in Borneo and the Philippines. We know from the accounts of Chinese writers and early Franciscan missionaries that syllabic writing of South Indian origin was in common use in western Borneo for a long period prior to Mohammedan influence. At the present time, however, not one single trace or copy of the old Bornean writing is in existence. From the Philippines, on the other hand, nearly all the old scripts that were in use down to the time of Spanish settlement have been preserved. The

only one that seems to have disappeared entirely is that formerly used by the Bicols. We have copies of the forms of writing in use among the Visayans, the Tagalogs, Pampangans, Pangasinans, and Ilocanos, which were recorded in early Spanish days. There also survive certain documents in court records and elsewhere that were actually written in these forms. Two similar scripts are still employed among a few of the pagan peoples in southern Mindoro and central Palawan, where their use appears to have been continuous from pre-Spanish days down to the present. In general, these scripts ceased to be used in the Philippines within one or two generations after the first Spanish settlement — being replaced by the European alphabet in the northern part of the Philippines and by the Arabic alphabet in Mindanao and Sulu. In the island of Negros, however, among the pagan mountain people such manuscripts existed in large numbers until the past century and it is from this island and from the neighboring island of Panay that we have the greatest body of old literature which still survives from pre-Spanish days. Careful study of these scripts in modern times has shown that all the Philippine forms of writing most probably were derived either directly from Sumatran or from intermediate Bornean forms which are now lost. The Sumatran scripts in turn have been shown to go back to a South Indian origin just subsequent to the time of Asoka, which indicates that they were introduced into Sumatra with the earliest Hindu-Pallava colonies.[1]

[1] The early Filipinos were more literate than the Mexicans, but the destruction in the Philippines was more ruthlessly thorough than in Mexico and only a few fragments of pre-Spanish Filipino literature survived. One Spanish priest in southern Luzon boasted of having destroyed more than three hundred scrolls written in the native character. Because there is no historical native material for pre-Spanish days, it is necessary to search the records of neighboring countries for the history of the Philippines before Magellan.

QUESTIONS

I. What race inhabits Malaysia? How did the history of southern India influence Malaysia? Where were Pallava settlements made in Malaysia? What was the center of Buddhist propaganda in Malaysia? What important region remained Brahman?

II. Describe Indian influence in Indo-China. What was the great building period in Indo-China? What were the Hindu states in Indo-China between the fifth and the eighth centuries? When did the Indian Empire in Indo-China decline?

III. How was the site of Hindu-Malayan influence in Sumatra discovered? Where were the Hindu colonies generally located? Describe the expansion of the Sumatran influence to other territories and islands of Malaysia. What brought about the downfall of the Sumatran power? When did it occur?

IV. What is the importance of the island of Bali in Malaysian history? When did the Sumatran Buddhist influence establish itself in western Java? When did resistance to Sumatran influence develop in Java?

V. Where did the earliest civilization in Sulu and southern Philippines come from? Where was Sumatran influence first established in Borneo?

VI. What colony in the Philippines traces its origin to Bruni? Tell about the traditional settlement of Panay by Borneo datos. To whom did the name "Visayan" apply when the Spaniards first came to the Philippines? What other peoples are known by the name "Visayan"? Where do they live? What was the relation between the people known as "Visayan" and the Sri-Vishaya state? What does study of Philippine scripts show in regard to their Sumatran and Bornean origin? To what source are the Sumatran scripts traced?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Which do you think was the most important factor in the development of early Malaysian civilization: religion, commerce, or writing?

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CHAPTER X

ARAB RELATIONS WITH THE FAR EAST

Eleventh century B.C.	King Solomon and the Shebans engage in trade with the Orient
First century of the Christian Era.	Arab ships trading at the ports of China
Third century of the Christian Era.	Arabs have a flourishing merchant community at Canton
Ninth century of the Christian Era.	Arabs begin to explore the Spice Islands

114. The Arabs as Leading Traders in the East. Arab relations with the Far East began as early as the time of Babylon, and at that time and in subsequent periods their relations were chiefly with India. Now the part of Arabia that carried on the trade was only one region — the country of Saba in southern Arabia, known in the Bible as Sheba. This south, or Sheban, coast, which lies along the southern part of Arabia partly on the Red Sea and partly on the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden, had been the home of a seagoing and commercial people in the earliest period of history. There is no question that at the time of King Solomon and the building of the city of Jerusalem the Shebans were the greatest seagoing people around Asia Minor. Just as the Phœnicians were the sailors in the Mediterranean,[1] so in the same way were the Shebans in the Indian Ocean. It was to the Shebans that King Solomon turned when he made a treaty with their queen, who came to visit him. By the terms of the agreement the carrying of commerce from India to Palestine, at least, was to be handled jointly by the Shebans and by Solomon's fleet, which he built in the Red Sea. This fleet was manned by Phœnician

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, § 66. Ginn and Company, 1924.

sailors under the command of Hiram, king of Tyre. It is very probable that cedar beams used throughout the ancient city of Babylon, and still found in its ruins, were brought by sea from India to Babylon on Sheban ships.

During the later periods we do not get much evidence from historical records of Sheban commercial history until after the time of Alexander the Great. During the Greek time the Sheban trade was known to be extensive and was carried on not only with Greek centers of Asia Minor but also with Egypt via the Red Sea. At a later period it was the custom to carry Oriental goods overland from Red Sea ports to a point on the Nile near the present city of Luxor, and to float them down the river to the great port of Alexandria.[1]

115. The Romans force the Arabs into Trade beyond India. It is entirely doubtful whether any Phœnician, Greek, or Roman ships ever got beyond India. But during Roman times the Romans tried to put the Shebans out of business by building fleets in Red Sea ports and the Persian Gulf and trading with India themselves. It may have been this Roman interference which first started the Sheban ships to seek Oriental ports beyond India for goods which the Romans could not get. At any rate, Sheban trade beyond India began about the time of the Roman competition with the Shebans in the Indian trade. The first Arab ships which, according to the records, went as far eastward as South China, date from the time of the first century of the Christian Era. Ptolemy's famous geography, published A.D. 150,[2] was based in the main on certain geographical and sailing descriptions left by a Phœnician sea captain named Marinas, who lived and visited the East around A.D. 75. There is no doubt but that Marinas was himself in China and made several voyages between East China and Arabian ports. These voyages were undoubtedly performed in Sheban ships, since after the destruction of Carthage, Phœ-

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, §§ 110, 112. Ginn and Company, 1924.

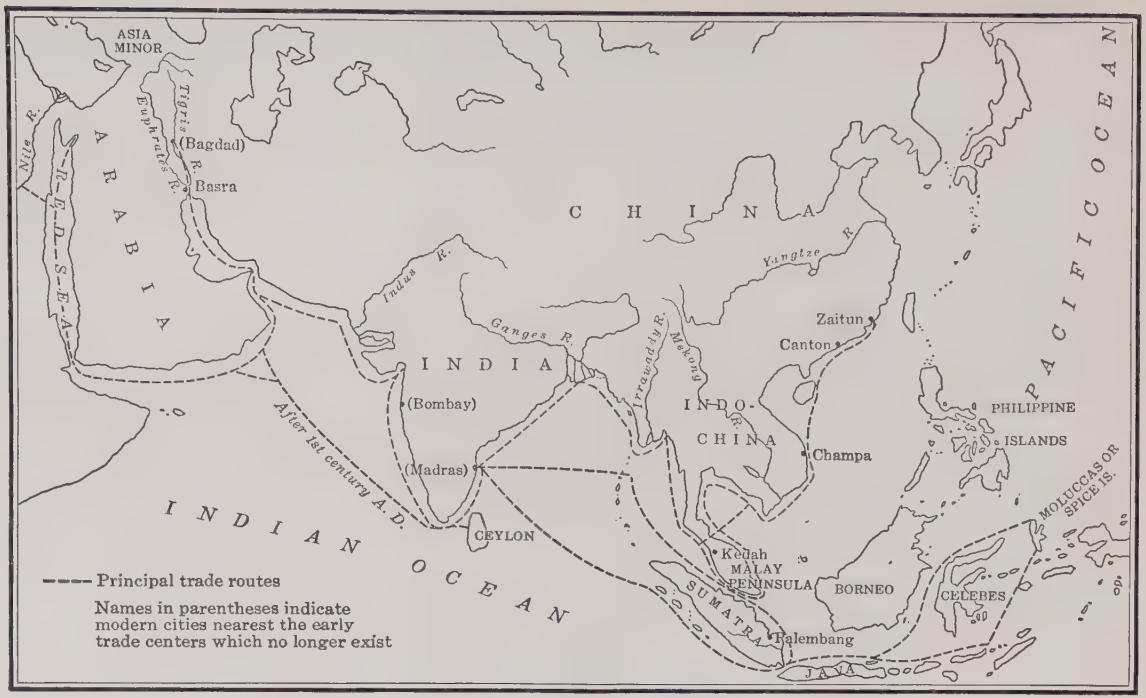
[2] See ibid. § 103.

nician ships had been run off the Red Sea by the war between Rome and Carthage, and Phœnicians would not enter the employ of the Romans.[1]

In the Chinese records themselves, the first definite account of Arab trade occurred at the end of the third century of the Christian Era, when the extent and character of a thriving Arab merchant colony in Canton was described. At this time the Chinese themselves probably had not sailed or carried on trade south of Indo-China. Practically all the trade between China and the West during the early century of the Christian Era was in the hands of Indian, Arab, and Persian merchants, sailing in either Arab or Indian ships. At this time, however, there was already established some trade with Hindu-Malayan colonies in Java, Sumatra, and Borneo, carried on mainly by Hindu-Malayan traders. From the beginning of the Christian Era down to the eighth century, Arab trade with China was certainly carried on in either Arab or Indian ships, but after the eighth century Chinese ships, which were larger and better built, though much slower than those of the Arabs and Indians, began to displace the latter in the trade with the East. It is probable that after the eighth century Arab merchants themselves traveled between India and China in Chinese vessels, though the commerce between Arabia and India remained exclusively Arab.

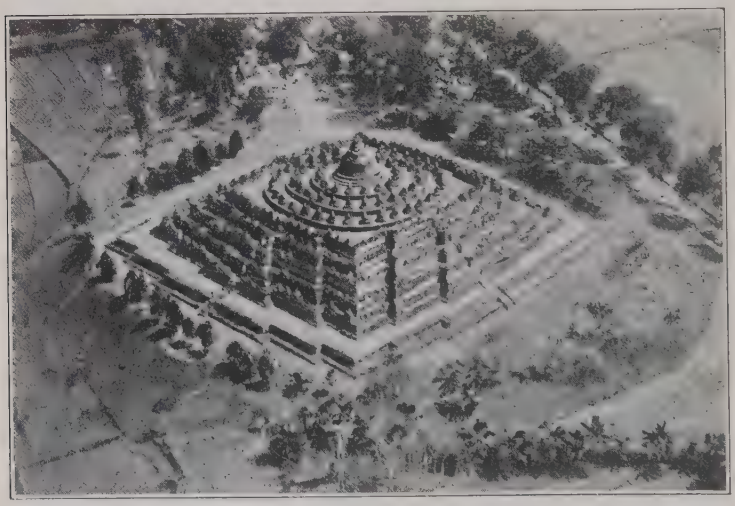
Looking back we can see that probably the earliest trade between Red Sea and Persian Gulf ports was carried on by Sheban Arabs without much competition until Roman times. The Romans made a more or less successful effort to compete with the Arabs in this trade, and a considerable proportion of the Oriental goods reaching Asia Minor was carried from India to the Persian Gulf in Roman ships. Probably the stimulus of

[1] Carthage was the daughter of Phœnicia, and the Phœnicians were unfriendly to the Romans; consequently, they would not enter the employ of the Romans. See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, §§ 130–135. Ginn and Company, 1924.



ARABIAN AND INDIAN COMMERCE

this competition was the prime motivating force in extending the Arab commerce beyond India to China and Malaysia in an effort to get their goods at the source rather than through the Indian merchants. At any rate, we know definitely that Arab trade with China and Malaysia was actually in existence at least as early as the first century of the Christian Era.



THE BORO-BUDUR, JAVA

One of the most splendid monuments of the great period of temple building

116. Arabian Culture in the Far East. Of course, this period was entirely pre-Mohammedan, since the Arabs did not become Mohammedanized until the beginning of the seventh century. It is, however, from the seventh to the tenth century that we get our most extensive and informative Arabian accounts of the Eastern world. The reason that the earliest accounts were so few is that the Sheban Arabs were a seafaring, commercial people rather than a literary one, and it was not until after the growth of the great Mohammedan empire of Asia Minor, with its capital at Bagdad, that accounts of

voyages to foreign lands began to be written and preserved in literary centers, from which they have come down to us. It should be noted, however, that while the Sheban Arabs were Mohammedanized at an early date (and actually established a mosque in Canton, probably even before the date of Mohammed's death), they never acted as missionaries or endeavored to spread the Mohammedan faith in the East. Just as they were primarily merchants in the East in pre-Mohammedan days, so they remained merchants and traders after they became Mohammedans.

The introduction of Mohammedanism into the Orient by religious propaganda came only after the Sayyids of southern Arabia began to send out definite parties and expeditions of missionaries with the avowed object of converting Eastern lands to the faith (§ 200). These were not merchants nor traders but they posed rather as teachers, often intermarrying with the families of Eastern royalties and receiving royal aid in their missionary endeavors.

It is nevertheless true that very considerable elements of Arabian culture were carried to India, Malaysia, and even to China through the Arabian merchant colonies because, at least after the first century of our era, actual colonies of Arab merchants began to be established in the East for trading purposes, since the Arabs were not content merely with a sporadic sea trade. That the trade they developed had grown to a very great proportion by the eighth century is clearly indicated in the complaints of Arab writers of that period at the high cost of Indian and Chinese goods in the bazaars of Basra and Bagdad,[1] which high cost they attributed to the dangers of the long voyage and to the very numerous piratical attacks en route on trading ships.

117. The Arabs explore Malaysia. While the Arabs were developing their trade with China, they had established them-

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, § 193. Ginn and Company, 1924.

selves down at Kedah in the Malay Peninsula. They also settled freely in Java and Sumatra and had a town of their own on the coast of Sumatra near the mouth of the Palembang River. During the last half of the ninth century trade with China was interrupted and there was a great concentration of merchants and ships in the two ports of Kedah and Palembang. The Arabs therefore began to hunt for new lands; they turned their attention to the Spice Islands and set out to seek the Moluccas. They also explored all the principal islands of Malaysia. Before this period there was little trade between China and Malaysia, but immediately after it a great number of Arab merchants began to trade between the two regions.

It is to be noted here that the Chinese give, as they usually do, the names of the principal traders or captains of ships coming from this new land. Practically all names that can be recognized are Arabian, and it seems almost certain that the beginning of trade between Malaysia and China was carried on in Arab ships.

118. Chinese displace the Arab Traders in Malaysia. Some of the Arabs had explored these regions and established trade connections there during the period when they were excluded from China. This was the very period, however, when Chinese shipping was developing most rapidly, so that it was not long before Chinese merchants began to visit these new lands in their own craft, and on account of the greater size and better quality of the Chinese vessels and their nearness to a home base, the Arab ships were soon eliminated from the trade. There was another reason, of course, for this, — the Chinese merchants were doubtless willing to pay higher prices for island goods than were the Arabs, because the Chinese merchants were more familiar with the values of these goods in China itself and the demand for them there.

QUESTIONS

I. When did Arab relations with the Far East begin? What part of Arabia carried on trade with the Far East? What part did the Shebans take in that trade?

II. What caused the Arabs to trade beyond India? What city in China did the Arab traders reach? When did Chinese ships displace Arab and Indian ships? Why? Did the Arab traders reach Malaysia? Where did the Arabs settle in Malaysia for trade? Why were the Chinese traders able to displace the Arabs in Malaysia?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

What is the historical value of such literature as the Arabian Nights story of Sindbad the Sailor?

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"Sindbad the Sailor" in the Arabian Nights. Two of his voyages were made to Malaysia.

PART III. CULMINATION AND DECLINE OF IMPERIAL EXPANSION

(1200–1550)

CHAPTER XI

THE EMPIRE OF THE MONGOLS

1206.	Genghis becomes Great Khan of the Mongols
1213.	First Mongol invasion of China
1235–1241.	Mongol invasion of Russia and central Europe
1260–1294.	Reign of Kublai Khan
1274.	Kublai Khan's first expedition against Japan
1293.	Expedition against Java
1275–1292.	Marco Polo in China
1368.	The Mongols expelled from China
1398.	Tamerlane invades India
1405.	Death of Tamerlane

119. The Tribes of Central Asia. We have already seen that central Asia a good many thousand years ago was occupied by people who were more civilized than those who were then living along the eastern and southern edges of the continent. Indeed, the earliest civilization in China and in India was brought into those countries by immigrants from the central plains. But in the thousands of years which have passed since the development of that very early civilization the geography of central Asia has greatly changed. The interior of the continent has been slowly "drying up." Deserts now are found where once great bodies of water were located, and the plains which once were suitable for farming can now be used only for pasture lands or for hunting.

Although this great central region became more and more unfit for agriculture, it was still capable of supporting a large pastoral and hunting population. Many wandering tribes found pasturage here for their flocks and herds, while others were able, by their skill as hunters, to furnish themselves with food and clothing. Civilization flourishes best among people who live in fixed habitations, and these wandering tribes made only a little advance in culture. But they developed a simple form of tribal government, and sometimes strong leaders were able to bring under their control a large number of related tribes inhabiting the same region. Because of their healthy outdoor life and their frequent struggles for the possession of pasture lands and watering places, these nomadic peoples were hardy and warlike, and the fact that they were trained to fight on horseback gave them a great advantage over people who did not make such general use of the horse.

120. Tartars, Huns, and Turks. From very early times these warlike barbarians were a constant source of trouble to the Chinese. During the Chou dynasty the northern and western frontiers of the empire were repeatedly attacked by tribes which were known as the Hsiung-nu Tartars; and Shih Huang Ti, after driving back the Hsiung-nu on the west, had built the Great Wall as a protection against invasions from the north. After the days of Shih Huang Ti, the emperors of the Han dynasty sent their armies far into central Asia for the purpose of putting an end to the constant threats of the Hsiung-nu. This repulse of the Tartars from the borders of China had important effects upon far-off Europe. Some of the tribes were set in motion toward the west, and the Huns who invaded Europe in the fifth century of the Christian Era were a westward-moving branch of the Hsiung-nu Tartars. Under their famous leader, Attila, these fierce horsemen swept through southern Russia and across Germany, plundering and destroying as they went. Only after they had reached France

CHRONOLOGY OF ORIENTAL HISTORY (1200–1550)

Malaysia (including Indo-China)	India	China	Date	Korea	Japan	Important Western Events
Chinese vessels trading regularly with the Philippines and Borneo	1206. The Sultanate of Delhi		1200			1215. The Great Charter
1220. Ken Arok founds Singosari in Java	Mongols plunder northern India	1213. Kins conquered by the Mongols		Korea subdued by the Mongols		Russia, Poland, and Hungary invaded by the Mongols
		1260. Kublai chosen Khan *Yuan dynasty* Sung emperors overthrown				
		1271–1295. Marco Polo's voyages			Kublai's expeditions against Japan	
1275. First Javan expedition against Sri-Vishaya						
Tongking and Burma made tributary to China						
1293. Chinese invade Java. Madjapahit founded						1295. The Model Parliament
			1300			
Madjapahit at its greatest extent						1337–1453. Hundred Years' War between England and France
1372. Sri-Vishaya destroyed					*Ashikaga Shogunate*	
1380. Malacca founded	Mohammedan empire of Delhi officially recognized by the Khalif of Bagdad	*Ming dynasty*: good government; prosperity; culture			War of Succession The Shogun acknowledges himself vassal of Ming emperor	
	Tamerlane invades northern India			1392. Yi Tai-jo establishes the last Korean dynasty	Period of Chinese influence in art, architecture, philosophy, etc.	Prince Henry the Navigator
	India breaks up into many small Mohammedan states			Relations with Japan revived		

CHRONOLOGY OF ORIENTAL HISTORY (1200–1550) — CONTINUED

MALAYSIA (including Indo-China)	INDIA	CHINA	DATE	KOREA	JAPAN	IMPORTANT WESTERN EVENTS
		1402–1424. Yung Lo 1405. First expedition of Cheng Ho to the East Indies	1400			Renaissance
1407. Annam reconquered by the Chinese						
1428. Annam again independent					Epoch of the Warring Country	
		1430–1434. Last of Cheng Ho's expeditions				1453. Ottoman Turks capture Constantinople
1478. Mohammedans capture Madjapahit and control all Java						1486. Dias discovers the Cape of Good Hope 1492. Columbus discovers America
		Decline of Chinese influence in Malaysia				
Portuguese trade empire	1498. Portuguese arrive		1500			
1511. End of Mohammedan empire by the capture of Malacca by the Portuguese	1510. Goa captured by Albuquerque					1513. Balboa discovers the Pacific
		1516. Portuguese reach China				1519–1532. Spain conquers Mexico and Peru
1521. Magellan reaches the Philippines						
	1525. Baber founds the *Mogul Empire*				1542. Portuguese reach Japan 1549. St. Francis Xavier introduces Christianity	
			1550			

were the Huns finally defeated at the great battle of Châlons, in 451, and forced to retire toward the east.[1]

Four centuries after the fall of the Han dynasty, the Tang dynasty, as we have seen, once more extended the authority of the Chinese government westward as far as the shores of the Caspian Sea. Again there began a movement of the tribes toward the west. This time the people who were set in motion were the Turks, another Tartar people. Moving toward the southwest, the Turks first made themselves masters of Asia Minor.[2] Then, after the lapse of several centuries, they crossed over into southeastern Europe and carried their conquests as far as the walls of Vienna before they were checked by the forces of Christendom.[3]

121. Khitans and Kins. Although the Chinese were quite successful in dealing with the dangerous tribes along their western frontier, matters went less satisfactorily in the regions lying north of Shih Huang Ti's Great Wall. Here in the river valleys of Manchuria wandering Tartar tribes settled down and became far more dangerous to the peace of China than they had been during their nomad days. Occupying fixed homes close to the frontiers of the empire, these tribes soon began to adopt some of the Chinese culture and political organization, while they retained enough of their warlike character and physical strength to be superior to the Chinese as fighting men. As soon as the powerful tribal leaders became aware of the wealth and the nonmilitary nature of the Chinese Empire, there poured down into the northern provinces of China well-organized armies which fought with the enthusiasm of their early nomad ancestors.

Two examples of such neighbors were the Khitans and the Kins. Threatened by the Khitans on the northeastern frontier, the Sung emperors had called upon the assistance of the

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, §§ 180–183. Ginn and Company, 1924.

[2] See ibid. § 240.

[3] See ibid. § 454.

Kins, who responded by crushing the Khitans, and then proceeded to conquer for themselves the northern part of China (§§ 63, 65).

122. The Mongols. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries a new and powerful organization was growing up among the Tartar tribes dwelling in the region between the Amur River and Lake Baikal. One of the tribes had taken the name "Mongol," which was probably derived from *mong*, meaning "brave," and the leaders of this tribe gradually extended their authority over a number of neighboring groups, whom they banded together into the so-called "Mongol Confederacy." The capital of the confederacy was Karakorum, located upon the Orkhon, a river which flows northward into Lake Baikal. Here, in 1162, was born the great leader Genghis, under whom the Mongols were to begin their career of world conquest. Genghis was only thirteen years old at the time of his father's death, and only a few of the Mongol tribes were willing to recognize this child as their chief. As he grew to manhood, however, the boy began to show his ability as a leader, and in 1206 a great meeting of the Mongol Confederacy proclaimed him "Khan" of all the Mongols.

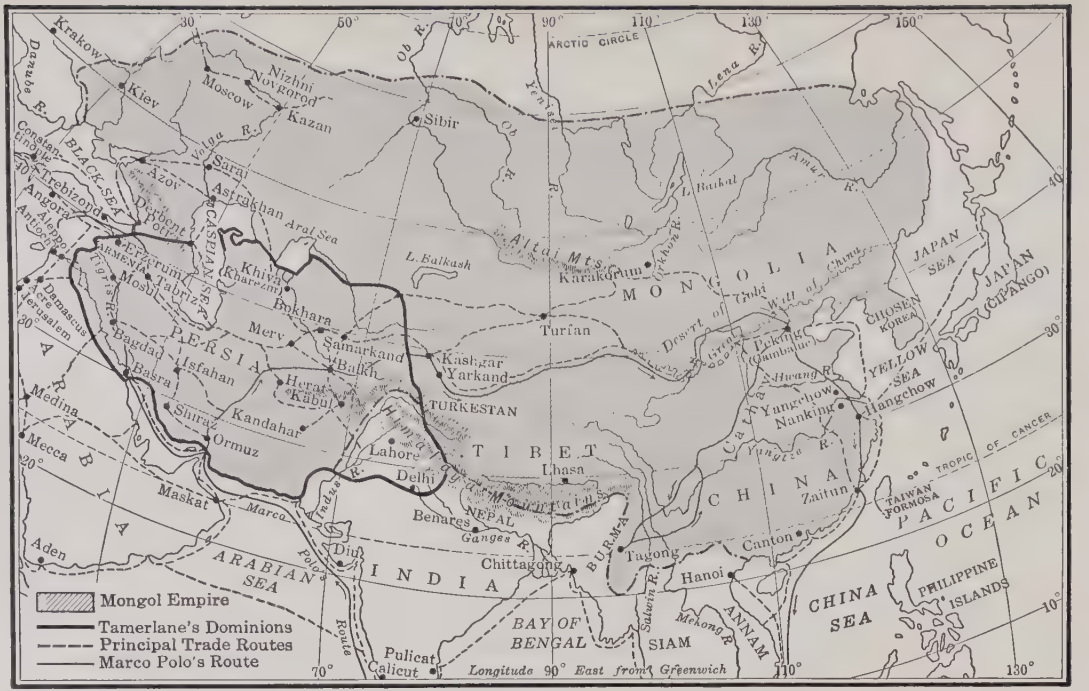
123. Conquests of Genghis Khan in China and Korea. For a few years after his selection as Great Khan, Genghis was engaged in a struggle against certain Mongol leaders who refused to submit to his authority. But when these internal enemies had been defeated he turned his arms against foreign foes and soon began to conquer lands far beyond the earlier limits of the Mongol possessions. In 1213 northern China was invaded. The Kin rulers were compelled to acknowledge Mongol supremacy, and Genghis — although he later retired to the north of the Great Wall — made himself master of the Kin capital at Peking. Five years later the Mongol horsemen invaded Korea, where they captured city after city and finally forced the Korean king to take refuge on an island in the Han River. For forty years the Korean monarch and his court

lived like prisoners on this little island of Kangwha, while the Mongols ruled the land; then his successor submitted to the invader and returned to the capital as a vassal of the Great Khan.

124. The War against Kharezm. Even more far-reaching than these early conquests in China and Korea were the victories which Genghis won in the west. One of the rebellious Mongol leaders had taken refuge with the Shah of Kharezm[1] on the banks of the Oxus River near the Sea of Aral. This rebel was later defeated and captured by Genghis, who, instead of being angry with the Shah for having sheltered his enemy, proposed a treaty of friendship and commerce between the two countries. Although the Shah agreed to this treaty, it was not long before some Mongol traders were murdered. A mission was sent to Kharezm to protest against this unfriendly treatment, but the Shah mistreated the envoys and had one of them beheaded. Genghis now invaded Kharezm at the head of a mighty army. The Shah could make no resistance to the Mongol advance and even failed to hold his strongest fortresses against the invaders. After a number of defeats he fled westward and died, leaving the kingdom to his son. The new Shah, Jalaluddin, fought several battles against the Mongols and then retreated southward into India, closely followed by the enemy. A final battle was fought on the banks of the Indus, where the army of Jalaluddin was completely destroyed. The defeated leader fled to the court of the Sultan of Delhi, while the Mongols, after plundering the northern districts of India, returned to central Asia.

125. First Mongol Invasion of Russia. After the conquest of Kharezm, but before following Jalaluddin down into India, Genghis had sent his envoys to negotiate treaties with some of the many states into which Russia was at that time divided. These envoys were received in much the same fashion as the envoys which he had sent to Kharezm. The Russians had

[1] Modern Khiva.



THE MONGOL EMPIRE

never even heard of the Mongols, and a number of the envoys were murdered. As a result of this insult Russia also was invaded by a Mongol army, and a number of the states were forced to pay tribute to the Great Khan.

Following these successful campaigns in the far west, Genghis Khan returned to Mongolia, where he died in 1227. Before his death he had annexed almost all the territories of the Kin emperors, but he left instructions that his successors should take up the work where he had been forced to stop. They were to destroy the Kins and to complete the conquest of China by annexing all the empire of the Sungs in the south.

126. Oghatai. The eldest son of Genghis succeeded his father as Great Khan and was assisted in the government by his two brothers and a nephew, who were given authority over three divisions of the empire. The early years of Oghatai's reign were spent in attempting to organize a system of government which could maintain order in the vast empire that had been conquered by Genghis. The Mongols had already begun to adopt some of the civilized customs of the peoples whom they conquered; they now borrowed some of the laws of the subject nations and applied these laws throughout their dominions.

Like his father, however, Oghatai was soon busy with fresh foreign wars. An army was sent into Korea to repress the Korean attempts to regain their independence; China was again invaded and the last remnants of the Kin empire destroyed; and a new expedition was dispatched westward to the region of the Oxus, where Jalaluddin had succeeded in reëstablishing the kingdom of Kharezm. After overthrowing Jalaluddin and restoring Mongol authority in Kharezm, this expedition, about 1235, continued its march into Europe. For six years the Mongol forces carried destruction and desolation through Russia and into the lands still farther west. Moscow, Kiev, and other Russian cities were captured and plundered. Poland and Hungary were overrun by the

resistless invaders; and many flourishing cities, including Pest and Kracow, fell before their attacks. In 1241 Silesia was invaded, and all western Europe seemed doomed to destruction; then suddenly and unexpectedly the invaders began to withdraw to their own lands. Far away at Karakorum Oghatai was dead, and the news of his death called the leaders of the expedition home to take part in the election of a new Khan.

127. Kublai Khan (1260–1294). Oghatai was succeeded by a son, who died after a few years and was followed upon the throne by a cousin. In 1260 this Khan, Mangu, died, and his brother Kublai was chosen Great Khan by the Mongol council. Kublai was thirty-one years old and had been aiding his brother in carrying out the command of their grandfather that the Sung empire in China should be destroyed. After his election as Khan, Kublai transferred his capital from Karakorum to Peking, to which he gave the name "Khanbalik" or "Cambulac," the "City of the Khan." Kublai was now the supreme lord of the far-reaching Mongol possessions, and in the early years of his reign he was compelled to carry on more than one desperate struggle against rebellious relations who sought to defy his authority. But from the moment when he fixed upon Peking as his capital the new Khan gradually became more and more of a Chinese emperor than a Mongol chieftain. He proclaimed that his dynasty should be called the "Yuan," meaning "Original," and took for himself a Chinese name which was used in all imperial decrees.

128. Kublai becomes a Chinese Emperor. Mangu and Kublai had already conquered much of the territory south of the Yangtze River; yet there still remained much to be done, and it was not until nineteen years after Kublai became Khan that the last of the Sung emperors was finally overthrown. The conquest of China was not carried out with the same ruthless cruelty that had characterized the Mongol wars in Western Asia and in Europe. Captured cities were not de-

stroyed, and defeated enemies were not pitilessly massacred. On the contrary, prisoners and cities were treated kindly. Every effort was made to win the good will of the people, and Chinese officials were employed to govern the country according to the laws to which it was accustomed. The wisdom of this policy was soon evident. Even while the Sung emperors were keeping up their losing struggle, many parts of the country peacefully submitted to the Mongol rule; when the last Sung ruler finally disappeared, Kublai was accepted by the Chinese people as their lawful emperor. Indeed, the Chinese historians have never treated Kublai Khan as a foreign conqueror, but have regarded him as one of the great figures in the history of their country.

AN ANCIENT PAGODA NEAR THE CITY OF WUSIH

Wusih is on the Grand Canal south of the Yangtze River; the conquest of this part of the country was accomplished after the accession of Kublai Khan

129. Foreign Wars of Kublai Khan. Kublai's ambitions were not satisfied by the conquest of China. Throughout his entire reign he continued to carry on fresh wars in the hope of adding new territories to a dominion which already

extended from Korea to the frontiers of Poland. Repeated expeditions were sent southward into Indo-China, and, although these expeditions did not meet with very great success, Tongking, Annam, and Burma were added to the list of tributary states. But the Great Khan was soon ready to embark upon even more ambitious undertakings. Beyond the seas lay Japan, the Lu-chus, Java, and other island kingdoms, with which China had long had intercourse and over which the Mongol emperor of China now planned to extend his sway. Upon the continent of Asia the Mongols were supreme, and everywhere, except perhaps in the mountains of Indo-China, the Mongol horsemen had been irresistible. But the Mongols knew absolutely nothing about the building or the handling of boats and ships. It was only with the assistance of the Koreans and the Chinese, therefore, that the Khan was able to carry out his expeditions overseas; and these expeditions, fitted out with great effort, were disastrous failures, costing the lives of many thousand Mongols, Chinese, and Koreans.

130. The Expeditions against Japan. The first of Kublai's two great expeditions against Japan was undertaken before he had completed the conquest of China. In 1268 he sent an envoy to the Japanese with a demand "for the establishment of friendly relations." Although the envoy gave warning that a rejection of this demand would lead to war, the Kamakura Shogunate refused to negotiate and prepared to resist the threatened invasion. Six years elapsed before the Khan's Armada was ready to start. On November 18, 1274, nine hundred Korean ships, manned by Korean sailors and carrying twenty-five thousand Mongol soldiers, arrived at the port of Hakata in Kyushu, and on the following day the invaders landed. In the fighting that took place after the landing, the Mongol bows and arrows proved more effective than the long swords of the Japanese; but that night a typhoon arrived which destroyed half the fleet and forced the remaining portion of the expedition to withdraw. Seven years later an even

greater force was sent against the Japanese. This time part of the ships came from China and part from Korea, and the expedition landed in Kyushu on June 23, 1281. For nearly two months there was desperate fighting between the invaders and the defending Japanese, and the Japanese seem to have been quite a match for their enemy. Finally, on the night of August 14, this expedition also was wrecked by a violent storm. Kublai made various plans for renewing the attack upon Japan, but nothing was actually done; after his death the new Yuan emperor abandoned his predecessor's warlike policy and opened peaceful negotiations with the Japanese government.

131. The Invasion of Java. The attempt against Java, although not so great a disaster, was hardly more successful than the two expeditions against Japan. In 1293 an expedition was sent to conquer the country, and a number of battles were fought against one of the kingdoms. For a while the Mongols were assisted by some of the other Javanese; but suddenly these allies turned against them. After much fighting against their new enemies, the invaders took to their ships and returned to China, having failed to secure any permanent possession in the island.

132. Mongol Intercourse with Western Europe. The great Mongol invasion of Europe in 1235–1241 resulted in the complete conquest of a large portion of Russia.[1] But it did more than this: it led to the opening of direct communication between the Mongol rulers and those parts of Europe lying even farther to the west. After the Mongol withdrawal from Silesia in 1241, the Pope determined to send envoys to the Great Khan in order to prevent a fresh invasion. The first envoys of the Pope failed to reach their goal; but in 1246 John of Planocarpini, a Franciscan friar, found his way to Karakorum and presented the Pope's letter to the newly

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, § 434. Ginn and Company, 1924.

elected Khan. John of Planocarpini stayed at Karakorum long enough to witness the formal coronation of the new Khan and then returned to Europe, carrying the answer to the papal letter. The Pope had warned the Khan that he must not invade Europe any more, to which the Khan replied that he had invaded Europe because the Europeans did not obey him.[1]

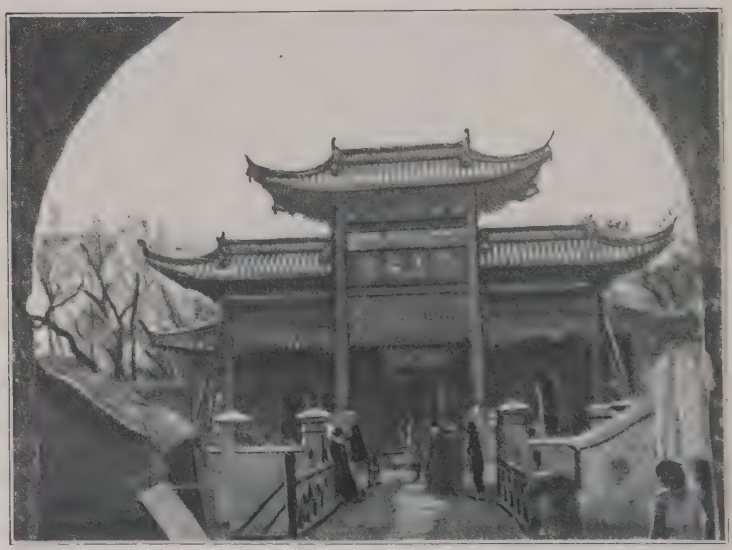
Some years later Louis IX of France, "Saint Louis," sent an embassy to the Mongol court and proposed that the Mongol Empire and Christian Europe form an alliance against the Mohammedans. In 1258 Holagu, a brother of Mangu Khan, had conquered Bagdad, Aleppo, and Damascus; so Louis IX hoped he would be able to get Mongol aid in destroying Mohammedanism. A number of letters were exchanged between the French and Mongol courts; but the Great Khan and the Mongol king of Persia had no especial interest in attacking the religion of Mohammed, and the proposed alliance was not approved.

133. Marco Polo. For more than a hundred years this intercourse between Europe and the Mongols continued. Royal and papal envoys, missionaries, and merchants all found their way, from time to time, to the court of the Mongol Khan; and, on one occasion at least, a traveler from Peking visited the Pope and the King of France (§ 60). The most famous of all the Europeans who visited the Far East during this century is the Venetian Marco Polo.[2] Marco Polo's father and uncle had reached the court of Kublai Khan in 1263 or 1264; and Kublai, who was much pleased with these Venetian merchants, had sent them back to Europe as his ambassadors to the Pope. Nicolo and Maffeo Polo arrived home from this trip in 1269; two years later they started back to China, taking with them Nicolo's seventeen-year-old son

[1] The Khan's letter to the Pope, written in Arabic, was discovered a few years ago in the archives of the Vatican.

[2] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, §§ 320–322. Ginn and Company, 1924.

Marco. The return trip to Cambulac took nearly four years, so Marco was about twenty-one years old when he first saw Kublai Khan. The Mongol ruler was impressed by Marco's intelligence and ability, and the young man was soon given official position. On one occasion he served for three years as governor of the city of Yangchow; at other times Kublai



A "Pailow" Memorial Archway at Yangchow

It was at this city that Marco Polo served for three years as governor

sent him on tours of inspection or on distant missions to the courts of vassal kings. For seventeen years, from 1275 to 1292, the three Polos remained in China. They all became homesick and repeatedly asked permission to return to Venice, but for a long time Kublai Khan was unwilling to let them leave his service. At last there came the chance for them to start on their homeward journey. A princess was being sent to the Mongol king of Persia as his bride, and the three Venetians were appointed to act as her escort of honor. In 1292

they sailed from the port of Zaiton, near the present city of Amoy, and after a long sea voyage succeeded in bringing the princess safely to the Persian capital. From Persia they continued their homeward way and finally reached Venice in 1295, after an absence of twenty-four years.

134. Marco Polo's Account of his Travels. Marco Polo's book, in which he tells the story of his travels and adventures, is filled with interesting information about the countries of the Far East. Much of this information is remarkably accurate, although he often repeats as facts the tales which were told him by other people. He tells about the country of "Chipango" (Japan) although he had never seen this country for himself, and he relates the unsuccessful attempts of Kublai Khan to conquer this land. He describes the different parts of China which he visited on his official journeys, and he tells of the various countries which he visited on his homeward voyage — Siam, Java, Sumatra, Ceylon, India, and others. He tells how it was that Kublai Khan was never in lack of money, for whenever he wanted money he could make all he needed out of paper, and this paper money was just as good as gold or silver. He tells of the imperial messenger service, which enabled the emperor to send his commands to all parts of the empire at the rate of four hundred miles in the space of a single day and night. He tells also how the people of China never had to worry about a scarcity of firewood, for they dug a certain kind of black stones out of the ground and burned these instead of wood. And then he tells about the great Chinese seaports, the harbors of which were crowded with ships from all parts of the Orient, and about the ships themselves — some of them so large that they carried crews of three hundred or even four hundred men. Most of Marco Polo's contemporaries undoubtedly regarded him as nothing but a teller of romantic tales; yet his book aroused the interest of many readers, and the European explorers of the fifteenth century who finally opened a sea route between Europe and the Far

East were partly inspired by the hope of seeing with their own eyes the wonderful lands described by the great Venetian traveler.

135. The Later Mongols — Tamerlane. After Kublai Khan's death in 1294 the Mongol power in China rapidly declined. Chinese leaders soon rose in revolt against the foreign rulers, and Kublai's successors were quickly expelled from the regions south of the Yangtze. In 1356 one of these rebel leaders became the emperor of South China with his capital at the city of Nanking. Twelve years later this new emperor, the first of the Ming dynasty, drove the Mongols beyond the Great Wall and made himself ruler over all China. The Ming rulers were not interested in foreign conquest; and China, under its new rulers, remained at peace for a hundred and fifty years, until the arrival of the Europeans.

Outside the frontiers of China the death of Kublai Khan was followed by the break-up of the great Mongol Empire, and separate rulers soon arose in various parts of central Asia. Some of the Mongols in the west had adopted the Mohammedan religion, and one of these Mohammedan Mongol leaders became the ruler of Samarkand. This ruler was named Timur, but he is better known in history as Tamerlane. In his youth Tamerlane, who was about thirty-four years old when he became Lord of Samarkand, is said to have been very religious and of a gentle disposition. His disposition now suddenly changed, and he quickly became one of the most terrible conquerors in all the history of Asia.

136. Tamerlane in India and in Asia Minor. Having first conquered all the region lying between Samarkand and the Caspian Sea, Tamerlane next turned southward toward India. In 1398 he led his armies down through the mountain passes and invaded the valley of the Indus. At this time India was divided into a great many warring states, and the most powerful ruler was the emperor of Delhi. City after city was captured and destroyed by the invaders, and finally Delhi itself

was taken, plundered, and burned. After the destruction of Delhi, Tamerlane did not go on to attack the weaker states farther south. Instead he returned to Samarkand and then led his conquering armies toward Western Asia and Asia Minor. Persia and Mesopotamia were conquered; the Ottoman Turks were defeated in a great battle at Angora in 1402; and only the Strait of Bosporus, which he had no means of crossing, kept Tamerlane from leading his forces onward into Europe. Returning once more to Samarkand, this tireless conqueror now made preparations to conquer China; but in 1405, while he was marching eastward on this new undertaking, Tamerlane died, and China was saved from invasion.

137. China after the Mongols. The Mongols did not establish a permanent empire in any part of the vast region which they brought under their control; yet the Mongol conquests had far-reaching effects in Asia and in Europe. In China, as we have seen, they destroyed the Kin and Sung empires and reunited the country. When the successors of Kublai Khan were expelled by the founder of the Ming dynasty, this new line of Chinese emperors was able to establish its authority over a united China. For a while the Ming emperors had their capital at Nanking, but Yung Lo, the third Ming ruler, transferred his capital to the old capital of Kublai Khan. Cambulac — its name now changed to Peking — was rebuilt in the form which it has today, and it has remained since that time the capital of the country.

138. Korea. The Mongols did not overthrow the royal line of Korea; but the long Mongol domination brought the descendants of Wang Kien into popular disfavor. The decline of Mongol power was therefore followed, in 1392, by a revolution which placed upon the Korean throne a patriot leader named Yi Tai-jo. The new dynasty founded by this leader lasted for more than five hundred years and disappeared only when Korea was finally annexed to the Japanese Empire. Tai-jo made two important changes in his country: he established

a new capital at the present city of Seoul, on the banks of the Han River; and he decreed that the kingdom should henceforth be known as "Chosen" — the name which had been given it many centuries before by its first historic king, Ki Tse.

A Water Gate to the Walled City of Soochow

"Above is Heaven; below are Soo and Hang." The Chinese regard Soochow and Hangchow as two of their most beautiful cities. Soochow, which is located on the Grand Canal about a hundred miles from Nanking, was founded in 526 B.C. and is often called the Venice of China. The walls shown in the picture were not built until A.D. 1662

139. India and Asia Minor. In India the invasions by Genghis and Tamerlane made known the defenseless condition of the land and showed the way for later invaders and conquerors from the north. But it was in Asia Minor and Europe that the Mongol conquests had their most important effects. In 1258 Holagu, the brother of Mangu and of Kublai, destroyed the power of the Seljuk Turks and made it possible for the less civilized Ottoman Turks to seize the power which the Seljuks had previously held. Although Tamerlane, a

century and a half later, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Ottoman Turks, the Ottomans quickly recovered from the effects of this blow. Just fifty years after Tamerlane had gazed helplessly across the narrow Bosporus at the towers of Constantinople, that city was captured by the Turks. The capture of Constantinople had tremendous consequences for Europe and for the Far East. A warlike and uncommercial people now controlled the old trade routes between these two parts of the world, and the Europeans were driven to seek new roads to the lands of spices and to the countries that had been described in the book of Marco Polo.

QUESTIONS

I. What important change had been taking place in central Asia? How did this change affect the people? Who were the Hsiung-nu Tartars? the Huns? the Turks? Where did the Khitans establish an empire?

II. What was the Mongol Confederacy? What countries were conquered by Genghis Khan? By what Mongol ruler was Europe invaded? Why did the invaders turn back? When did Kublai Khan become ruler of the Mongols? Where did he establish his capital? What two attempts did Kublai Khan make to conquer Japan?

III. Name some of the Europeans who visited the court of the Mongol rulers. Why did they come? Who was Marco Polo? When did he reach China? Tell something of Marco Polo's relations with Kublai Khan. How did Marco Polo's book influence the people of Europe?

IV. When did Tamerlane rise to power? Where? How far to the west did he lead his armies? Explain the effect of the Mongols upon China, Korea, India, and Europe.

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Would China be more prosperous today if she had a ruler like Kublai Khan?

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CHAPTER XII

INDO-CHINA AND BURMA TO THE CONQUEST OF CAMBODIA BY THE SIAMESE

218 B.C.	Annam temporarily conquered by Shih Huang Ti
110 B.C.	Han Wu Ti annexes Annam to China
A.D. 968.	Annam becomes independent
A.D. 1044.	Anawrata ascends the throne of Pagan (northern Burma)
Twelfth century.	Formation of Siamese kingdom
A.D. 1277.	The Mongols invade Burma
A.D. 1300.	Beginning of Cambodia's decline
A.D. 1350.	Capital of Siam transferred to Ayuthia
A.D. 1407.	Annam reannexed to Chinese Empire
A.D. 1551.	Buyin Naung becomes ruler of united Burma
A.D. 1565.	Phra Naret establishes a new dynasty in Siam

140. The Geography and People of Indo-China. The Indo-Chinese peninsula stretches southward from Tibet and western China. The upper part of the peninsula is broad and is divided into a number of river valleys running from north to south, but the southern part narrows down to a long finger the tip of which reaches almost to the equator. A number of mountain ranges, extending southward from the great mountain mass of central Asia, form barriers between the river valleys. Two of these mountain ranges are especially important. One runs the entire length of the peninsula to the extreme southern tip and cuts off the Irrawaddy and Salwin valleys on the west from the districts on the east. The second, lying east of the Mekong River, separates the Menam and Mekong valleys from Tongking and the narrow coastal plains of Annam. Down the river valleys there has been a constant stream of immigration from the north, and sometimes immigrants coming by sea have entered the valleys from the south. Because of the mountain ridges, however, there has been little

east-and-west movement; thus these separate valleys have been from very early times the territories of independent states.

141. Indian and Chinese Influence in Indo-China. As can be seen from a study of the map, the Indo-Chinese peninsula is open to intercourse by land with both India and China. From India — at times by way of Tibet — and from China, Indian and Chinese influences were able to find their way down the same river valleys that served the various invading peoples as roads into the peninsula. These land routes were not the only paths by which the civilizations of China and of India could reach Indo-China. As soon as the people of Asia began to make use of seagoing ships, foreign settlers and foreign traders began to arrive at points along the eastern and western coasts of the peninsula, bringing with them some of the culture of their homelands. Thus Indo-China has been a meeting place for the Chinese and Indian civilizations. Chinese influence has been particularly strong in the eastern part, and the Indian in the west; but there also has been considerable Indian influence along the eastern side of the peninsula, and considerable Chinese influence among the people living in the Irrawaddy and Salwin valleys.

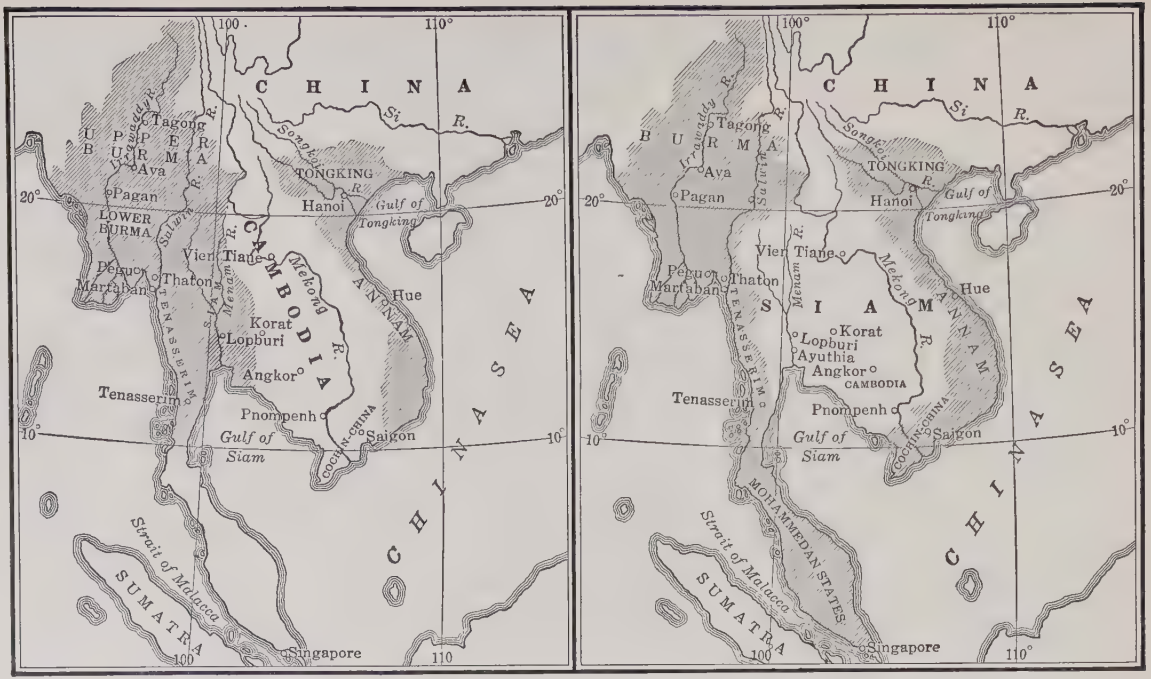
142. Religion and Art from India. The most important gift that Indo-China received from India was Buddhism, which became the dominant religion of the peninsula. Except in the northeast, where the teachings of Gautama were introduced by way of China, the people of Indo-China received their religious ideas directly from India or from Ceylon. Although Buddhism was the dominant religion, it was not the only religion of the people. The various branches of Brahmanism also were brought in from India, so that Buddhism and Brahmanism existed together here as they existed for a long time in the lands of their origin. Just as in other parts of Asia, the introduction of the Indian religion was accompanied by the introduction of Hindu art. Great temples — some of them

now in ruins — and wonderful works of sculpture show the influence of India upon the architects and artists of Indo-China.

143. Philosophy and Government from China. While India was the chief source of religion and art, China was the source from which the Indo-Chinese people received much of their philosophy and government. Parts of the peninsula, as we shall see, were, at various times, provinces of the Chinese Empire; but even the parts which were never invaded or conquered by the imperial armies adopted Chinese political methods, the Chinese calendar, and the political philosophy of the Confucian Classics. Chinese legal codes were imitated; Chinese titles were given to the officers of government.

144. The Four Important Political Divisions of Indo-China. As the peoples of Indo-China gradually began to organize themselves into settled states, four important political divisions appeared: in the east was the kingdom of Annam, which extended along the shore of the China Sea; west of Annam was the kingdom of Cambodia, which occupied the greater part of the lower Mekong valley; in the middle of the peninsula, occupying the Menam valley, the kingdom of Siam grew up; in the valleys of the Irrawaddy and the Salwin on the west there early appeared two rival states, which, although long independent of each other, finally united to form the Burmese empire. In the mountainous regions of the north, where Indo-China joins the western provinces of the Chinese Empire, a number of mountain tribes (the so-called "Shan states") were usually able to maintain independence of their more civilized neighbors.

145. Annam as Part of China and as an Independent Kingdom. From the very beginning of its history Annam has had a close connection with China. The conquest of the country by Shih Huang Ti is the first definitely historic event in the story of Annam. This first period of Chinese rule did not last long, but about a century later Annam was again conquered



Indo-China in the Twelfth Century

Indo-China in the Sixteenth Century

THE RISE OF SIAM AND THE DECLINE OF CAMBODIA

by the Han emperor Wu Ti. The country was now divided into three provinces; the government was organized upon the same plan as in the other Chinese provinces; and, with a few brief periods of independence, Annam remained for more than a thousand years part of the Chinese Empire.

When China fell into disorder after the overthrow of the Tang dynasty, A.D. 907, various leaders among the Annamese

An Ancient Annamese Tomb at Huế

began to take advantage of the situation and to stir up revolts against the Chinese authorities. In 968 a leader named Dinh Bo-linh became strong enough to expel the Chinese and established himself upon the throne as king of an independent kingdom. Under Chinese rule Annam had included little more than the present province of Tongking, but Dinh Bo-linh and his successors now began to extend their power southward along the narrow strip of coast land toward the fertile plains at the mouth of the Mekong River. The descendants

of Dinh ruled the country for nearly four and a half centuries, and then Annam was once more invaded by the Chinese. In 1407 the Annamese were forced to recognize the authority of the Ming emperor, Yung Lo, and Annam was reunited to the empire for another short space of time. Twenty-one years later, however, the kingdom again became independent under a patriot leader named Le Loi, who set up a new national dynasty. For a century and a half the successors of Le Loi continued the southern expansion which had been begun by Dinh Bo-linh. This new dynasty continued in power until the close of the eighteenth century, but during the later reigns the kings were only nominal rulers and parts of the country were practically independent of the monarchs at Hanoi.

In the latter part of the sixteenth century a bitter struggle broke out between two great official families which shared the real power at Hanoi. One of the families was able to seize all the power and to drive its rivals from the capital; but the defeated party, although driven from Hanoi, was still strong, and about the year 1600 it set up an independent principality in the south with a new capital at Hué. Not until 1801 was Annam again united under a single government. Already the Europeans had begun to play a part in the affairs of Indo-China, and they had an important hand in the events which led up to the reunion of Annam. This part of Annam's story will therefore have to be left for a later chapter.

146. Decline of Cambodia. In Chapter IX we have seen that the Cambodian empire established by the monarchs named Jaya-varman in the ninth century enjoyed four hundred years of splendor and power. This was the period in which the authority of the Cambodian kings was acknowledged by the tribes in the Menam valley and by the Shan, or Tai, states to the north and east. This was the age that saw the building of the royal city, Angkor Thom, and the erection of the magnificent temple of Angkor Vat.

During the thirteenth century Cambodia became involved in foreign wars on three frontiers. In the east the Annamese were pushing down along the coast toward the fertile plains of Cochin China. On the west the city-states of the Menam valley were becoming strong enough to defy the authority of the government at Angkor. Finally, about the middle of the century fresh groups of Shan, or Tai, peoples began to crowd

Tomb of the Monarch Dong Khanh at Huế, Annam

down into the upper Mekong valley, driven southward by the conquering Mongols. Attacked on three sides, the Cambodian kingdom was soon exhausted by constant warfare, and its territories were greatly reduced. Yet Angkor was still one of the most splendid cities in the Far East, and as late as the year 1297 a Chinese envoy to the Cambodian king wrote a glowing description of its wonderful buildings. About 1300, however, Angkor suffered a terrible catastrophe; the mouth of the Mekong became so blocked by deposits of mud that the waters backed up and flooded the entire region around the

ANGKOR VAT

The Angkor Vat, erected during the "Golden Age" of Cambodia, is one of the chief glories of Indo-Chinese architecture. (Photograph by Ewing Galloway)

city, turning the fertile fields into a great area of useless marshlands. The population of the city and of the surrounding region were now compelled to migrate or starve. The capital was moved southward to Lovec, near the present city of Pnompenh, and "Angkor the Magnificent" was abandoned to the rapid growth of jungle vegetation. Already exhausted by foreign wars, the Cambodians never recovered from the disaster which drove them from their capital and destroyed their most important supply of food. For a while they continued to defend their frontiers against the steady advance of their hostile neighbors; then they were overcome, and their once-powerful state became a province which was ruled sometimes by the Siamese and sometimes by Annam.

147. The Rise of Siam. About 300 B.C. permanent settlements began to be made in the valley of the Menam by some of the Mon Khmer tribes who had begun to adopt a certain amount of civilization from their cousins in Cambodia. These settlements grew into little independent city-states, which were scattered along the Menam valley and far down the narrow peninsula to the south. For more than a thousand years these little states struggled among themselves to extend their power, or combined to resist the encroachments of the Tai peoples from the north. Gradually, however, the Tais drifted down and mingled with the Mon Khmers. The last stronghold of the Mon Khmers against the advancing Tais was the little state of Lopburi; but here also the northerners came in and mingled with the earlier inhabitants, and Lopburi was finally ruled by princes of mixed ancestry. About the beginning of the twelfth century there came to the throne of Lopburi an energetic prince named Kasara Sima. Under this new ruler Lopburi became the center of a state which included most of the lower Menam valley, and which was more powerful than any state that had yet arisen in that region. With the rise of this new kingdom the history of Siam may be said to begin.

148. Siam and her Neighbors. The rising power of the new state soon drew upon it the attention and the hostility of powerful neighbors to the east and west. Cambodia had long claimed suzerainty over the city-states along the Menam, and the kingdom of Cambodia was now at the height of its power. A Cambodian army therefore marched against Lopburi and inflicted a severe defeat upon the forces of its upstart

Ruined Pagoda at Vientiane

Vientiane was founded by the early Tai invaders

ruler. Hardly had the Cambodians retired to their own territory when Siam was invaded by an army from Burma. For the next two hundred years — from the middle of the twelfth century to the middle of the fourteenth — the history of Siam was one of almost constant trouble and disorder. At first the troubles of the Siamese were confined to civil struggles and wars against the Cambodians or the Burmese, but the last part of the thirteenth century saw a fresh invasion of Tai peoples from the north. The earlier Tais had come among the

Mon Khmers gradually and in small bands; but the Mongol conquest of China drove the later Tais southward in a great wave of invasion which poured into all the states of Indo-China. Siam was overrun by the invaders; the reigning dynasty was replaced by a new line of Tai monarchs; Lopburi was destroyed; and, about 1350, a new capital was established at Ayuthia, south of the site of Lopburi.

149. Expansion of Siam. The new dynasty at Ayuthia was able to extend its power southward over the entire Malay Peninsula, and northward over the old Tai states along the upper Mekong; and the kingdom of Siam soon became stronger than it had ever been under the old monarchs. About the middle of the sixteenth century Buyin Naung, a king of Pegu who had recently united upper and lower Burma into a single kingdom, led a fresh Burmese invasion into Siam. The Siamese army was defeated, Ayuthia was captured, and the Siamese were forced to submit to the establishment of a Burmese viceroy to rule their country as a province of Burma. This humiliating state of affairs did not last long. In 1565 Phra Naret, the son of a former regent of Siam, roused the people to revolt against their Burmese masters. The Burmese viceroy was driven out, and Phra Naret, who now became king, was soon strong enough to lead his conquering armies into Burma in revenge for past injuries. Under its new ruler Siam was reëstablished as a powerful state and was able to maintain its independence even against the Europeans, who were beginning to come, in ever-increasing numbers, to the coasts of eastern Asia.

150. Siam and China. In the entire course of her history Siam was never invaded or conquered by China; yet the Siamese, like the other peoples of Indo-China, regarded their powerful northern neighbor with awe and respect. From very early times Siam was accustomed to send periodic envoys to the Chinese court, bearing humble tribute to the Chinese emperor. In gratitude for the culture and civilization which they

had received from the north, and perhaps with the object of securing the good will of the Chinese, the Siamese were willing to assume toward China the attitude of a respectful "younger brother." At times, also, some of the Siamese kings, having obtained the throne in an irregular manner, sought the confirmation of the Chinese emperor in order to strengthen their

VIENTIANE, A BUDDHIST TEMPLE

The Tais came from the north, but this temple shows Indian influence

claim. Thus it is recorded that Phra Naret, when he had expelled the Burmese, sent an envoy to China to secure from the Ming emperor official recognition of his right to the throne. This relationship between the two countries was not regarded by the Siamese as humiliating to themselves, nor is there any evidence of the Chinese rulers' demanding special rights for Chinese residing in Siam. Perhaps the regular missions from Siam and the other "tributary states" should be regarded as a polite form of commerce, since the emperor, in return for the "tribute" which was presented by the envoys, was always

careful to send back to the king "gifts" of equal value. Down to the opening years of the nineteenth century Siam continued to send her tribute-bearing embassy, at three-year intervals, to the imperial court of China.

151. The Rise and Unification of Burma. While Annam, Cambodia, and Siam were passing through the events which have been outlined, other states were growing up and struggling among themselves on the western side of the peninsula, in the region which is now known as Burma. In the twelfth century we saw the Burmese beginning to carry on war with their neighbors in Siam; but before that time the history of Burma is a story of the rival states which developed along the Irrawaddy and Salwin rivers and along the coast to the south.

For several centuries the northern and southern parts of Burma existed as separate states. There were frequent civil wars in each part of the country, and occasionally the northern and southern kingdoms would find some pretext to make war on each other. These two sections were about equal in strength, so neither one was able to conquer the other. In 1044, however, there came to the throne of Pagan (northern Burma) a king named Anawrata, whom the Burmese historians regard as one of the greatest monarchs in the history of their country. Anawrata invaded southern Burma, captured the strong cities of Thaton, Pegu, and Martaban, and made himself the first ruler of a united Burmese empire. He led his armies northward and established his authority over some of the Shan states to the northeast of his empire, and he is said to have marched westward into India as far as Bengal.

152. Anawrata's Reforms. There is little doubt that Anawrata was a mighty conqueror, but his best claim to be called great is to be found in his work as a reformer. Long before this time Buddhism had been brought into Burma from Tibet and Nepal, but when Anawrata came to the throne he found that the Buddhist clergy were both ignorant and corrupt,

while the teachings of Gautama had become mixed with all sorts of "devil-worship." As the Buddhism of Burma belonged to the northern, or "Mahayana," branch, the king decided that the best method of correcting the evils would be to introduce the southern, or "Hinayana," form of Buddhism in its place. He suppressed many of the worst practices of the monks and sent to Ceylon for missionaries of the Hinayana faith. Like Asoka in India many centuries before, Anawrata made his court the center of his country's religious life; and Buddhist monks from every quarter found support and protection at his hands. Up to this time Burma had used Hindu forms of writing, but Anawrata introduced a Burmese alphabet and had the Buddhist scripture translated into the Burmese language. Anawrata's reforms and his interest in religion had a permanent effect upon the country. He did not succeed in stamping out all the evils that had grown up, but he did correct many of the worst abuses. Buddhism was purged of many of its corruptions and once more became a real spiritual influence among the Burmese people. The religious revival was accompanied by great artistic activity. The missionaries from Ceylon brought with them a knowledge of architecture which was more advanced than that of Burma; and the new enthusiasm of the Burmese Buddhists soon showed itself in the erection of splendid temples and pagodas in all parts of the land.

153. Intercourse between Burma and China. During Anawrata's reign direct intercourse was established between the Burmese and Chinese courts, and Burma became enrolled in the list of states sending regular tribute to the Chinese emperor. As in the case of Siam, the envoys from Burma always brought back gifts of equal value in return for the "tribute" which they presented; and the Burmese monarchs seem to have regarded the performance as an exchange of gifts between equals. But the Chinese always referred to Burma as a tributary state, and every ten years a mission from Burma

was allowed to proceed to the Chinese capital for the purpose of making its humble offering to the emperor.

154. The Greatness and Decline of Pagan. The reign of Anawrata marked the beginning of a long period of Pagan supremacy. For more than two hundred years Pagan was the capital of a united Burma; and during these two centuries its only rival in splendor was the Cambodian capital at Angkor. The building of magnificent temples and pagodas, which had begun under Anawrata, was continued after his death and resulted in the erection of a number of structures which, even in their ruined condition, are still objects of great beauty. The most impressive of all the buildings at Pagan is the Ananda temple, which was built during the reign of Anawrata's second successor and which is one of the most beautiful examples of Buddhist architecture that can be found in the entire Buddhist world.

Early in the thirteenth century the strength of the Pagan government began to decline. The wealth and splendor of the court had bred corruption, while palace intrigues resulted in frequent assassinations and usurpations of the throne. At the same time the Mongol conquests in China were driving the Tai, or Shan, peoples down into the Irrawaddy valley, as well as down the valleys of the Menam and Mekong farther to the east. In 1277 the Mongols themselves, under the generals of Kublai Khan, appeared in the northern part of Burma and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Burmese army. This military disaster marked the beginning of the end for the great empire which had been established by Anawrata. Two years later, in 1279, northern Burma was invaded and conquered by the Shans. For nearly a century after the Shan invasion the northern portion of Burma presents a confused picture, with numerous rival forces struggling to gain control; then, in 1364, a new capital of upper Burma was founded at Ava, near the present city of Mandalay.

155. Ava and Pegu. With the destruction of the old Pagan monarchy, united Burma fell apart and the southern portion

SHWE DAGON PAGODA AT RANGOON

A fine example of Burmese architecture. This remarkable building is three hundred and seventy feet in height and measures one thousand three hundred and fifty-five feet around the base. (Photograph by Ewing Galloway)

again became a separate kingdom with Pegu as its capital. After the new capital of upper Burma had succeeded in making itself the center of a powerful state, there began a long period of rivalry and warfare between the northern kingdom of Ava and the southern kingdom of Pegu. For a while the northern state seems to have been the stronger, although it was never quite able to destroy the independence of Pegu. In the fifteenth century the power of Ava was at its height; then there came fresh invasions by the conquering Shans, and the northern kingdom was gradually exhausted by wars against the invaders. As the power of Ava declined, that of Pegu rose. The first part of the sixteenth century saw the southern kingdom torn by a long series of civil wars between rival claimants to the throne; but in 1551 an able adventurer named Buyin Naung seated himself upon the throne of Pegu. Buyin Naung has been called the "Napoleon of Burma." Like Napoleon he rose from an obscure origin; like Napoleon he was a great conqueror; and like Napoleon he exhausted his country by his constant wars. We have already seen this ambitious monarch invading Siam, where his attempt to subjugate this eastern neighbor resulted only in a brief period of Burmese domination followed by the successful rebellion of Phra Naret. But Buyin Naung did succeed in reuniting Burma and in extending Burmese power to wider limits than it had ever known.

QUESTIONS

I. In what direction do the mountains and rivers of Indo-China run? How have they affected the movements of the people? What important influences did Indo-China receive from India? What did it receive from China?

II. When was Annam first made part of the Chinese Empire? When did the country become independent? Why did Annam expand only toward the south? What was the relationship between Annam and China after 1432?

III. Where was Cambodia? From what source did the Cambodians receive their earliest civilization? What was the period of greatest power? Where is Angkor? Give some of the reasons for the decline of Cambodia.

IV. What two peoples combined to form the Siamese nation? Tell something about Siam's early connection with Cambodia. What was the earliest capital of Siam? When did Ayuthia become the capital? Who was Phra Naret? Tell something about the relations between Siam and China.

V. Why did northern and southern Burma remain separate states? Tell something about the achievements of Anawrata. What did he accomplish for Buddhism in Burma? What great buildings were built at Pagan? By whom was Pagan conquered? Who was the "Napoleon of Burma"? Do you think he deserves the name?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Compare the importance of geography in the history of Indo-China and in the history of Greece.

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CHAPTER XIII

INDIA FROM THE MOHAMMEDAN INVASIONS TO THE CULMINATION OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE

1186.	Afghans become masters of Mohammedan India
1206.	Establishment of the "slave dynasty" at Delhi
1398.	India invaded by Tamerlane
1525.	Baber begins the conquest of India
1556–1605.	Reign of Akbar

156. Mohammedan Conquests to the Time of the Sultan of Delhi. As we have seen in Chapter V, Mohammedanism was first spread in India by the Arabs. But the first real foothold in a political way was gained only after the Turks had assumed leadership of the Mohammedan areas. The real conquest of northern India was accomplished by Sultan Mohammed of Ghazni, who invaded India seventeen times in the first quarter of the eleventh century and conquered the whole northern plain across to the Ganges. The Sultans of Ghazni who succeeded this conqueror maintained their supremacy in India until 1186, when their predominance in Mohammedan leadership passed to the Afghans of Ghor. In 1206, after the death of the great Ghor leader, the Afghan empire broke up and there was established in northern India an independent state (comprising a large part of the Punjab and Hindustan) ruled by the Sultans of Delhi. This dynasty is often known as the "slave dynasty" because its founder had been a slave before gaining his freedom and becoming a great military leader. The Delhi Sultanate was at first extended clear to the Brahmaputra River, but soon began to diminish in area through the invasion of the Mongols (§§ 136, 139). Some great Sultans ruled in Delhi before the final conquest by the Mongol Tamerlane, and

several of them valiantly resisted the Mongol encroachments. One of the most famous rulers of the period was Mohammed Tughlak, at whose court the famous Moorish traveler Ibn Batuta spent twelve years, leaving us a most interesting account of the state of India at this time.[1]

157. The Rise of Small Mohammedan States. Following the invasion by Tamerlane in 1398 (§ 136), political conditions in India had become more confused than usual. The Sultans of Delhi were never able to recover from the destruction of their capital and were soon overthrown by a line of princes, who ruled for about forty years over Delhi and a small portion of surrounding territory. About the middle of the century an Afghan adventurer succeeded in making himself Sultan of Delhi, and one of his descendants later transferred the capital to Agra. These new Sultans never ruled over much more than the territory immediately around Delhi and Agra, and they played an unimportant part in Indian history. The remaining portions of northern India, which had formerly been ruled from Delhi, were under the sway of a number of petty, independent rulers. As before the time of Tamerlane, the southern part of India, known as the Dekkan, was occupied by several separate states. Toward the close of the fifteenth century five new Mohammedan states, established by Mohammedan adventurers at the head of strong armies, gradually grew up in the Dekkan. These five states, although they frequently fought among themselves, formed a loose confederation and acted together against their external enemies.

Almost all of India was now under Mohammedan domination; only a few little states in the northeastern mountains were able to resist the power of the invaders. Although a majority of the population still believed in their old national religions, the Mohammedan religion was making many converts, especially among the members of the lower castes.

[1] See an account of Ibn Batuta in J. T. Faris's *Real Stories of Geography Makers*. Ginn and Company, 1925.

Foreign commerce at the Indian ports was almost entirely in the hands of the Mohammedan Arabs, who carried the

MOGUL INDIA

products of India, as well as the spices of the East Indies, westward to the ports of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

158. The Rise of the Mogul Empire. In 1498, when the Portuguese first arrived in India (§§ 210, 211), the country

was governed by a great number of independent and warring princes. This state of affairs, as we shall see, greatly aided the Portuguese in their seizure of important points along the coast; but in 1525 a new invader appeared in northern India and began the formation of a powerful empire.

Baber, the new empire-builder, was a descendant of Tamerlane (§ 135) and had inherited some fragments of his ancestor's central Asian possessions. Attracted by the helpless confusion in India, Baber entered the Indus valley by way of the northern passes. He soon made himself master of Delhi and of a large part of northern India, to which he gave the name "Mogul Empire." Baber was succeeded, in 1530, by his son Humayun, who had reigned only a few years when he was driven from Delhi by a revolution. After twelve years of exile, however, Humayun returned to India at the head of a conquering army and succeeded in regaining most of this former territory, which, in 1556, he bequeathed to his fourteen-year-old son Akbar.

159. The Reign of Akbar (1556–1605). After the death of Humayun the Mogul Empire was governed for a few years by a regency; but in 1560 the young Sultan took the power into his own hands. No sooner had Akbar seated himself upon the throne than he began a series of conquests which extended the frontiers of his empire in all directions. In the east he invaded and conquered Bengal. In the north he reconquered the Afghans, who had risen in revolt, and annexed Kashmir. On the west he conquered and annexed the territory of Sind, which comprises the region at the mouth of the Indus River. To the south he added to his domains by subduing a considerable part of the Dekkan. As a result of these conquests, Akbar brought under his authority a larger amount of territory than had ever been governed by any previous monarch of India.

Unlike his famous ancestor, Tamerlane, Akbar was not merely a conqueror. He organized a strong administration

AKBAR

The enlightened despot of the Mogul Empire

for his empire, and he constantly endeavored to make his government a benefit to the people under his sway. Taxes were reduced; roads were built; wise laws were passed; and a uniform system of weights and measures was established throughout his realm. Although he was himself a Mohammedan, Akbar recognized the injurious effects of religious discord and endeavored to prevent friction between his Mohammedan and non-Mohammedan subjects. Hindus as well as Mohammedans were given important offices in the government, and laws were passed to guard the Hindus against insults to their religion. Akbar even conceived the idea of developing a new religion which would combine the best points of all the various existing religions. For this purpose he made a study of the different Indian religions and invited Portuguese priests from Goa to visit him at Delhi, in order that he might learn something about the doctrines of Christianity. Akbar's "new religion" was not a political success, since it resulted in arousing much bitter opposition among his Mohammedan subjects, so he was compelled to abandon this project; but throughout his long reign he continued his policy of extreme religious toleration.

QUESTIONS

Describe the political conditions in India at the close of the fifteenth century. When was Mohammedanism introduced and spread in India? Who controlled the commerce at the Indian ports at that time? What condition in India aided the Portuguese in seizing Indian territory? Who was Baber? What empire did he build? Who was Akbar? What conquests did he make? How did he improve the administration of government? What was his religious policy? Was it successful?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Compare Akbar with (*a*) Asoka, (*b*) Hideyoshi, (*c*) Mahatma Gandhi.

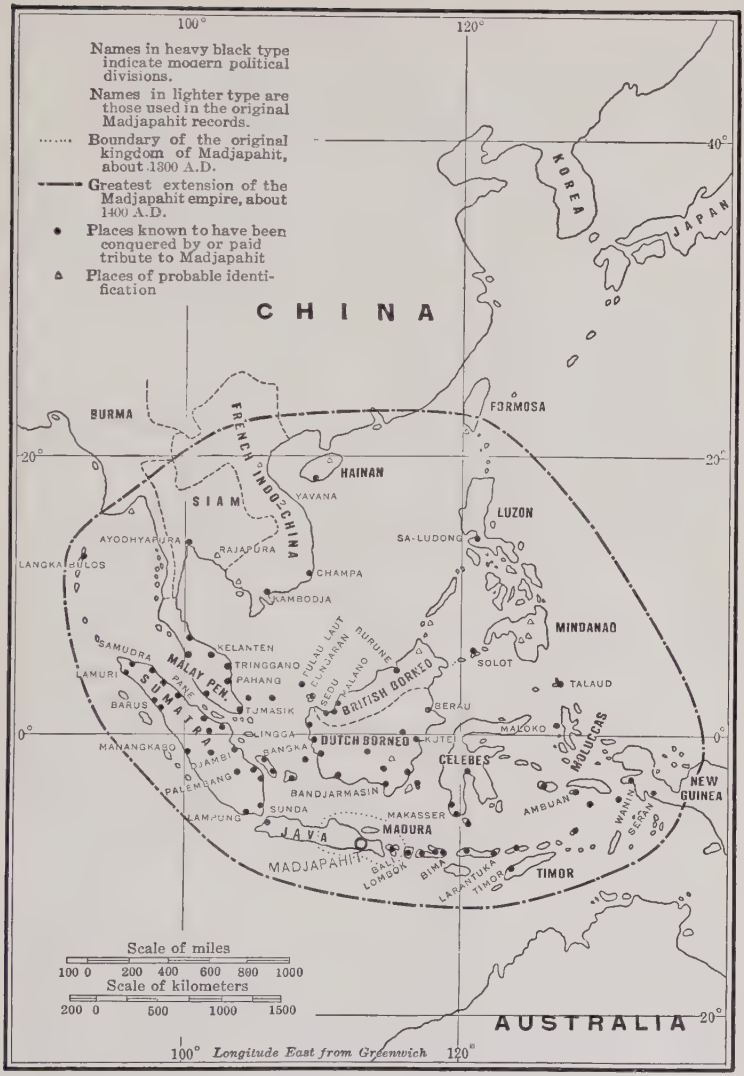
CHAPTER XIV

JAVA AND MALAYSIA FROM THE WEAKENING OF SUMATRAN POWER TO THE CULMINATION OF THE EMPIRE OF MADJAPAHIT

1220.	Ken Arok founds Singosari in Java
1275.	Kartanagara, king of Singosari, sends his first expedition against Sumatra
1292.	Mongol expedition against Java; Madjapahit becomes the leading state in the island
1331–1364.	Period of Gadja Mahda, the great expansionist minister of Madjapahit
1389.	Beginning of Madjapahit decline
1428.	The end of the Madjapahit empire

160. The Peasant King, Ken Arok. In Chapter IX we learned that the Brahman states of eastern Java were able to resist the invasions of the Buddhist Sri-Vishaya empire in Sumatra. Following the Erlangga period (see Chapter IX) we have a dark spot in the Javan history for rather more than a century, but beginning with A.D. 1220 there was founded a new state that was destined to become the greatest combination of Malay peoples into a single political unit that has yet existed.

To most Javanese historians the romantic and adventurous career of Ken Arok is the beginning of history. Though the parents of Ken Arok were humble peasants, he rose, through a series of murderous adventures, to be king of Tumapel, which at that time was a vassal state to the still larger neighboring kingdom, Kediri. Ken Arok made his capital in the village of Singosari and promptly began to enlarge his kingdom. His first conquest was that of a small neighboring state, Djunggala. In 1222 he threw off his allegiance to Kediri and cap-



THE EMPIRE OF MADJAPAHIT

Compiled, from the original sources, by H. Otley Beyer

tured its capital. Thus he reversed his relations with the rulers of this state by transforming former liege lords into his vassals.

161. The Rise of the Kingdom of Singosari. Before Ken Arok's death he had consolidated his three conquests into a single great kingdom. He ruled firmly for twenty-seven years, being killed in 1247 by his son-in-law, who became king in his stead. The latter was himself killed the following year. His successor's rule was also short-lived, as he was killed the following year by an angry servant.

The fourth ruler of Tumapel, called Vishnu Warddhana, was much superior to his predecessors and governed wisely for twenty years, being also the first of his line to die a natural death (1268). He greatly enlarged the kingdom, adding all of Djunggala, the whole island of Madura, and a number of other minor territories. Singosari under his rule became a great city and gave its name to the whole empire. Its fame began to spread throughout Malaysia and even to China and India.

162. Kartanagara. Finally Vishnu Warddhana's son Kartanagara, the last and best-known king of Singosari, came to the throne. His coronation was characterized by the greatest ceremony ever yet given by a Javanese ruler and was attended by many representatives of other countries. The lavish display of wealth and power which characterized this occasion has been the subject of a number of eloquent poems and much Javanese romance.

Kartanagara's rule was marked by certain great changes in Javan policy. He began by preaching tolerance in religion and inviting Buddhist priests to come and establish themselves at his court. By this time the Sumatran power had been much weakened and Buddhism had ceased to be of political significance in central and eastern Java. But the former political struggle between the Brahmans and Buddhists had emphasized the prejudice against the latter, and for this reason Kartanagara's attitude toward the Buddhists has been

much commented upon by Javanese historians. Kartanagara also invited these Buddhist priests to expound their philosophy to himself and the members of his court; indeed, he seems to have devoted his life largely to literary pursuits and the study of philosophy, while he left the government of his state largely in the hands of his ministers.

163. The Expansion of Singosari. The ministers of Kartanagara were not content merely to rule the state that was handed over to them, but set out in his name to extend the empire as widely as possible. During his reign many lands were conquered both inside and outside of Java. The island of Bali and several islands to the east and northeast (in the direction of the Moluccas) were conquered, as well as part of southern Borneo, one or two places in the Malay Peninsula, and a considerable area in southern Sumatra. It seems possible also that the whole island of Java itself was made tributary, though some areas retained a nominal independence. These conquests indicate a considerable development of sea power, since the lands conquered had been long tributary to the Sumatran empire of Sri-Vishaya, and could not have been conquered by Kartanagara's navy unless it were equal in strength to that of Sumatra itself.

In the year 1275 a tremendous expedition comprising the pick of all the Malayan forces in Java was sent under the command of Kartanagara's leading generals to the west coast of Sumatra. It was absent from Java for twenty years but did not reach the seat of Sri-Vishaya power. In the meantime great changes occurred in Java itself.

164. The Founding of Madjapahit. The events in Java which followed the dispatch of Kartanagara's great army to Sumatra seem to have centered around the personality of one of the king's leading ministers who decided to take advantage of the absence of the army to promote certain private ambitions of his own. This minister, whose name was Wiraradja, was a very intelligent, though treacherous and unscrupulous,

man who had been one of Kartanagara's closest confidants and a partner in his revels and luxurious life. He was a diplomat of no mean ability, whose chief interest in life lay in weaving complicated plots and court intrigues, and he began by making a secret friendship with Djaya-Katwang, who at that time was ruling over the neighboring tributary state of Kediri.[1]

Wiraradja and Djaya-Katwang conspired successfully against Kartanagara. Soon, however, Wiraradja turned

A Warrior of Ancient Java

A bowman of royal blood as depicted in a historical Javanese play

against his fellow conspirator and entered into a plot to overthrow him. He now formed a secret partnership with Raden Widjaya, the son-in-law of Kartanagara, for whom he secured permission to form a new settlement in a wild uncultivated portion of the island. After receiving this permission Raden Widjaya, with steadily increasing forces, began the establishment of a town called Madjapahit, destined to become the center of a new empire.

[1] It will be remembered that the conquest of Kediri by Ken Arok marked the first step in the rise of Singosari as an empire.

165. The Chinese Punitive Expedition to Java. Meantime an event probably entirely unforeseen by the principal actors in our Java drama put into Raden Widjaya's hands an unexpected opportunity. This event came about through the landing on the coast of northern Java of a great fleet and twenty thousand Chinese troops sent by the great Mongol emperor of China, Kublai Khan, to avenge an insult to one of his ambassadors, committed during the time of Kartanagara (§ 131).

Before Kartanagara's time all the Javanese states had been in the habit of paying tribute to China from time to time, and the Chinese had come to regard this tributary relation as permanent. When Kublai Khan's ambassador arrived at the court of Kartanagara, however, the Singosari empire had grown so powerful that Kartanagara decided to refuse this tribute, and he sent the Chinese ambassador back empty-handed. By Kublai Khan's orders two other embassies were later dispatched to Java, each with a firmer demand for the customary tribute, and it was Kartanagara's treatment of the third of these ambassadors that led to the Chinese expedition. This third ambassador was not only sent back empty-handed but was personally abused by having an insulting message tattooed on his forehead. Since his previous refusals to pay tribute were not heeded by the Chinese, Kartanagara wished to make sure that his third refusal was delivered to the Chinese emperor in person. When the ambassador thus abused arrived in China, Kublai Khan was naturally much enraged and immediately directed the governor of Fukien to send three famous generals in command of an army to subdue Java. They were to collect twenty thousand soldiers from the provinces of Fukien, Kiangsi, and Hukuan and to send them in a thousand ships equipped with provisions for a year, and with forty thousand bars of silver.

Kublai Khan's ideas of strict justice are apparent from his last instructions to his generals. He said to them:

When you arrive in Java you must clearly proclaim to the army and the people of that government that the Imperial Court formerly had peaceful intercourse with Java by envoys from both sides, and has been in good harmony with it, but they have lately insulted and cut the face of the Imperial envoy Manchi, and that you have come solely to punish them for that.

A Madurese Dancer

When this great Chinese expedition arrived in Java after a two months' trip from Fukien, they concentrated their force, both naval and military, near the mouth of the Surabaya River, and defeated the Javanese troops that gathered there to resist them.

166. Wiraradja's Intrigue with the Chinese. It was at this point that Wiraradja saw a chance to plan another intrigue which would definitely accomplish his purpose of making Raden Widjaya supreme in the island. He induced Raden Widjaya to send an embassy to the Chinese generals telling them that he was an enemy of the Singosari ruler who had insulted the Chinese envoy, and that he would willingly aid them to capture Singosari and kill the ruler, promising that if they would combine with him in this project, they should have, as a gift for their emperor, the pick of the princesses of Tumapel, the fame of whose beauty had reached even to

China. From the Chinese accounts it seems evident that the Chinese generals already knew that Kartanagara was dead, but since they felt that they must punish the ruler and ministers of the state that offended China, they decided to accept Raden Widjaya's offer of coöperation and oust the usurping ruler of Singosari. After a series of great battles in which the Chinese and the Madjapahit armies joined forces, Singosari was captured and Djaya-Katwang and his sons were killed.

167. The Chinese withdraw from Java. Immediately after the end of the war, which was brought to a close on the nineteenth day of the third month of the year 1293, Raden Widjaya returned to Madjapahit. Here, upon Wiraradja's advice, he decided that, with his enemy Djaya-Katwang out of the way, the next step was to get the Chinese army itself out of Java. By a stratagem Raden Widjaya had induced the Chinese to divide their army into three columns, which made his own attack upon them much easier. Two of the Chinese columns had immediately started back to the coast while a third remained behind in Kediri to finish collecting the booty and prisoners taken by the expedition. It was this third column that was attacked by Raden Widjaya. Such of the Chinese as escaped fought their way for three hundred li (about a hundred miles), where they finally reached their ships and reunited with the remainder of the forces. The Chinese commanders held a council and decided that, having already lost over three thousand men, and realizing the difficulties of fighting on tropical ground, it would be best to return to China without attempting to punish the attack upon them by their erstwhile ally. They took with them one hundred of the chief prisoners, and booty to the value of more than half a million silver taels, accomplishing the return journey to Fukien in sixty-eight days.

168. The First King of Madjapahit. Once the Chinese had left Java, Raden Widjaya was able quickly to make himself complete master of the country. He had himself crowned as the first king of Madjapahit in the autumn of the year 1293,

and Wiraradja disappeared from the scene. The remainder of Raden Widjaya's life was devoted to consolidating his kingdom and building a great city at Madjapahit.

169. Introduction of Firearms into Java. One other important matter is to be noted here. The Chinese had introduced firearms with their expedition and had furnished a considerable quantity of guns to their ally, Raden Widjaya, during the expedition against Kediri. From this time on we have accounts of the use of guns and gunpowder among the Javanese and other Malayan peoples. In fact, it seems likely that the new weapon was one of the chief aids that enabled the

A Typical Malayan Cannon — a Moro Lantaka
Probably introduced into Java by the Mongol invasion

Madjapahit state, founded by Raden Widjaya, to develop with such unusual rapidity into a great overseas empire.

170. Gadja Mahda and Madjapahit Expansion. The next great name in Javanese history is that of Gadja Mahda, who first came into prominence in the year 1331 through his participation in the suppression of an insurrection and who a little later was named prime minister.

Gadja Mahda dreamed of a world-wide empire for Madjapahit. He made an oath that he would not eat *palapa* (*ampalaya* in Tagalog) until the remainder of the Malaysian islands still subject to Sumatra were brought under the control of Madjapahit. He made this oath on the public plaza, or *alun-alun*, in the presence of all the ministers and officials, who laughed at him and ridiculed his ambition. This so angered Gadja Mahda that he immediately set about organizing a fleet and an army for his campaign and conquest. In this ambition he had the support of his ruler, Queen Suhita, and by 1333 his

campaign was well launched. One country after another was brought under the influence of Madjapahit, until by 1350 practically the whole territory of Malaysia was subject to its influence, except only central Sumatra and the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, which were not finally conquered until after Gadja Mahda's death.

That this expansion was the result of a definite and well-worked-out plan is made evident by the order in which the different countries were brought under Javan influence. The expeditions seem to have proceeded, first, eastward to Bali, which was conquered and its king killed in 1334; and from here eastward through the long chain of Sunda Islands clear to the west end of New Guinea, which was itself later conquered and settled by Javanese. Next an expedition to the northeastward was organized and brought the southern part of Celebes, the islands in the Banda Sea, and finally the Moluccas under control. The next effort of Gadja Mahda was directed toward Borneo, where the Madjapahit territory was extended rapidly over the whole island and northward into the Philippines.

171. The Great Period of the Empire. Gadja Mahda organized a colonial department to look after the conduct of affairs in the conquered territory, and a little later he himself took charge of this department and devoted most of his time to its conduct. There can be little doubt but that the greatness to which Madjapahit attained during the reign of its ruler Hayam Wuruk was chiefly due to the energy and statesmanship of the prime minister, Gadja Mahda. In fact, it was not long after Gadja Mahda's death in 1364 that dissatisfaction began to grow and spread in the conquered provinces, which by 1400 broke into open revolution. The really great period of Madjapahit as an empire, during which its possessions were at their maximum in area and were well organized and controlled, extended for only about forty-five years, from 1335 to 1380.

Ecclesiastical power was highly developed in Java under the Madjapahit régime and to a very great extent during this whole period was subject to control by the king and the minister of state. Priests were made responsible directly to the king and were often given civil functions in addition to their religious ones. The general system with regard to temples, monasteries, and other religious institutions was that they were supported directly by the group of *desas*, or villages which they served, but were granted freedom from all state taxations and even allowed to exercise (with the king's authorization) their own local government, including courts of justice.

172. Government and Commerce of Madjapahit. The general government of Madjapahit was a highly centralized bureaucracy in which definite duties were assigned to each department and to each official. An excellent system of taxation, of customs duties, tolls, and internal revenues was developed. Special taxes were levied for building and maintaining roads, public buildings, and monuments. There was also a department of public welfare, which had particular charge of agricultural activities and everything relating to the production of food as well as certain control of public waterways and bathing places, in the interest of public health. There was also a war department, dealing with military affairs; a supreme court with two presiding officers and seven justices; and a department of commerce, dealing particularly with the trade in foreign lands.

Commerce was carried on with India and China, as well as with the colonial possessions. Alliances were made with semi-independent states in Annam, Cambodia, and Siam.

The activities of the department of public welfare were such that at certain periods more food was produced than the country needed and exports of rice and other products were made to other countries. The Chinese writers of this period spoke highly of the prosperity of the land, of the peaceful

and industrious character of the inhabitants, and of the good quality of justice administered by the court.

173. Colonial Government. The foreign possessions of Madjapahit were ruled by governors who usually lived at a favorable spot on the coast, and had the title of "sea lord." They had both troops and ships under their command, for the purpose of resisting foreign invaders and of putting down local insurrections. Their most important function seems to have been supervision of the export of products.

> The subjugated lands usually obeyed the King's commands, but if they did not, the sea-lords made war upon them and exterminated them, — and several of the sea-lords made themselves famous in this manner. Probably refusal or neglect to pay the tribute to Java was the usual cause of this fighting; because the tribute had to be paid punctually at certain fixed times.[1]

A tax was also collected from the inland population under supervision of a *mantri*, or "minister for the interior." The tax collectors were often priests or monks, who were chosen on account of their tact in dealing with the people.

174. Madjapahit in the Days of its Splendor. The capital city of Madjapahit had grown to be very large and prosperous by the time of Hayam Wuruk. It was surrounded by a thick and high brick wall, pierced with various gates. The main buildings in which officials resided and governmental activities were carried on were located around the *alun-alun*, or public plaza. A great market and a public tournament field were also found within the city, as well as a considerable section devoted to temples, monasteries, and other structures for religious services. By the Shiva temple, which was the largest in the city, there was a special place for sacrifice, and a little beyond this was a peculiar hall in which at times there were conducted long debates between Brahman and Buddhist priests. Near the royal palaces there were also extensive

[1] W. Fruin-Mees, *History of Java.*

barracks for the soldiers and other quarters in which lived large numbers of servants and slaves who were attached to various members of the court or officials of the government. The principal buildings were built of stone or brick and were ornamented with statuary, paintings, and many types of colored tiles. Even the Chinese writers of the time spoke of the principal buildings as being very stately and beautiful in

HISTORICAL DRAMA IN JAVA

Actors in a royal Javanese theater representing historical characters

appearance. The residences of the nobles usually had wide floors and were sometimes roofed with a kind of shingle or small overlapping board.

In addition to Madjapahit, the greatest inland cities were Daha and Singosari, and the principal ports of Java at this time were Tuban, Grisseh, Surabaya, and Changgu, all located on the north coast. From 1300 to 1400 these port cities were filled with a great variety of shipping, owing to the extensive commerce both with the colonies and with foreign lands.

Merchants seemed to have occupied high and responsible positions and many nobles and even royal families engaged in trade.

175. The Weakness and Gradual Break-up of the Madjapahit Empire. After Hayam Wuruk's death in 1389, a mistake was made which finally resulted in the rapid weakening and final break-up of Madjapahit's power. Owing to a dispute about the succession, a portion of eastern Java was detached and given to a son of Hayam Wuruk, while Hayam Wuruk's nephew succeeded him as emperor. This set up a center of disaffection from which agitators spread into other parts of Java and developed an opposition to the Madjapahit government. Hayam Wuruk's nephew ruled the empire for only eleven years, since (following the death of his only legitimate son in 1399) he decided to become a monk and withdraw entirely from worldly affairs. His retirement immediately occasioned another violent dispute as to the succession, which finally went to a distant relative of the king. This occasioned a revolution which was only put down through the Hermit King's return to the throne. Some of the rebels, however, withdrew into the independent part of eastern Java, from which they carried on a bitter civil war which lasted for nearly six years. One incident of this war is of interest. A general massacre of the Chinese merchants and traders in eastern Java, carried out by the orders of a rebel leader, resulted in a visit by the great fleet of Cheng Ho, a Chinese admiral (§ 194). Following an attack by Cheng Ho's fleet, the guilty leader was forced to pay a huge sum as damages. He attempted to escape on a ship then in port but was followed and killed, and his head carried back to Madjapahit. This ended the revolution, but Madjapahit had been so greatly weakened by the six years of civil war that the colonies now began to plan their freedom. As Cheng Ho's great fleet made repeated voyages to Malaysia, one by one the Madjapahit colonies renounced their allegiance to Java and sought Cheng Ho's active protection through nominal prom-

ises of allegiance to China — in some cases actually made in person through visits to the Chinese courts.

It may be doubted if, after 1410, any colonies, except the islands just to the east of Java, remained loyal to Madjapahit. In Java itself many little local states began to declare their independence, particularly following the great famine which swept over the country in the year 1426. A drastic change also came about in moral conditions, and the crimes of murder and robbery everywhere increased. Madjapahit had ceased to be an empire with the death of the king in 1428, and his successors ruled only a relatively small part of central and eastern Java itself. Actually Madjapahit continued to exist as an independent state until its final capture by the Mohammedans in the year 1478.

176. Sumatran and Javanese Influence in Borneo and the Philippines. We have seen, in Chapter IX, that, during the period of Sumatran domination in Malaysia, Borneo and the south and central Philippines had been brought under the influence of Sumatran culture, which left a deep impress upon many features and modes of life; furthermore that during this period the Visayans of the central Philippines and the people now occupying the Bicol peninsula had come to their present locations. In the southern Philippines the Bandjarmasin Sumatrans had settled in Sulu and extended their influence over the whole region from the northeastern part of Borneo to the western coast of Mindanao. It is not yet possible for us to state specifically just what features of Hindu influence in Philippine life came from Sumatra and what features were derived from Java, but it is quite possible to indicate in a general way what the divisions were. The old syllabic alphabets were undoubtedly of Sumatran origin, as was also the extensive collection of Buddhist folklore that is found everywhere in the Visayas and the north. The old calendars, some of which are still preserved, also show decided Sumatran character rather than Javan. On the other hand, in the north

in every area where we find these evidences of Sumatran influence there also exist particular traits that are undoubtedly Javanese.

177. Madjapahit Colonies in Borneo and the Philippines. The records of Madjapahit colonies and settlements are quite full in regard to the islands of Borneo and Celebes, but for the Moluccas and the Philippines we have to depend mainly on the piecing together of scattered references. There is no question but that the Philippine colonies of Madjapahit were administered from Borneo rather than from Java itself, since all the colonies, both in the Philippines and in northern Celebes, are always discussed under the head of Borneo. Three regions in the Philippines are mentioned in the Madjapahit list: the Sulu Archipelago, the Lanao district in Mindanao, and the Manila Bay district in Luzon. The scattered Sangir Islands between Celebes and Mindanao were also the seat of an important Madjapahit governmental unit, which made and extended its influence over much of the southern coast of Mindanao.

178. The End of Javanese Influence in Borneo and Sulu. The long-existing enmity between Bruni and Sulu has been mentioned in our discussion of Sumatran influences. There is considerable evidence that the first entry of Madjapahit's governmental control into Philippine areas was directed from Bruni and occurred before the middle of the fourteenth century. Bandjarmasin in southern Borneo came under Madjapahit's control probably around the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, and a little later it was made the seat of the viceroyalty which was occupied, on at least one occasion, by the favorite son of the emperor of Madjapahit himself.

In Bruni there was also established a powerful seat of government, and a large force of Javanese soldiers was stationed there for a considerable period. A Javanese princess was also married to the local ruler and many Javanese settled at the

court. This condition of affairs in Borneo stimulated Sulu to sever completely its former connection with Bandjarmasin and the east Borneo colonies.

PRINCESS TARHATA ATIK KIRAM

The niece of the Sultan of Sulu is shown here wearing the ancient Malay garb of central Sumatran type. This style has been much affected in recent years by the Sulu royal family

The first entry of Madjapahit's control in Sulu and Mindanao must have occurred early in the fourteenth century, very soon after Bandjarmasin had become a viceroyalty. Sulu never willingly submitted to Madjapahit's rule any more than it did later to Spanish attempts along the same line, and the Sulus frequently rebelled against it, as is indicated by the bitter attack made on Bruni by a Sulu army and navy at the end of the year 1369 or the beginning of the year 1370. The Sulu forces at this time were very numerous and powerful and they were said to have completely sacked the city of Bruni and destroyed a considerable part of it, retiring only when Javan forces were sent to the assistance of Bruni.

This attack had serious effects upon Madjapahit dominion not only in the Philippines but also in Borneo, as it was immediately after this that we begin to find Bruni envoys being sent to the court of China seeking protection against both the

Sulus and the Javanese. This relation with China will be discussed later in Chapter XV, but it indicates to us that the strong period of Madjapahit influence in northern Borneo and the Sulu Archipelago was during the first six or seven decades of the fourteenth century and became decidedly weaker long before the end of the century.

179. Javan Influence in Mindanao and Northern Philippines. In Mindanao, on the other hand, there is evidence that Madjapahit influence lasted considerably longer than it did in Sulu and northern Borneo. In the first place, it is rather probable that the Javanese not only established themselves very firmly but that they occupied at least three or four areas of considerable size in widely separated portions of the island. The regions where Javanese influence seems to have been strong were (1) in Lanao, as already mentioned; (2) the Cotabato valley; (3) the region around Caraga on the eastern coast of Mindanao; (4) parts of the Agusan River valley. There is considerable evidence that the chief attraction in eastern Mindanao and in the Agusan valley lay in the numerous placer gold mines of these districts, whereas in Lanao and the Cotabato valley agriculture and commerce were probably more important factors. North of Mindanao there are good evidences that the Javanese covered a wide area of influence, particularly in Cebu, Bohol, Negros, Panay, and the island of Masbate. In this latter place gold mining was also the chief attraction, and recent study of the ancient pre-Spanish working of this island has demonstrated clearly that the miners used what is known as the Indian quicklime method, rather than the Chinese gunpowder method, of excavating the rock. The Javanese are known to have used this Indian method in their mining operations throughout the archipelago and the Malay Peninsula itself. It is probable also that the extensive gold workings at Paracale on the north coast of the Bicol peninsula were also known and visited by the Javanese,

though at the time when the Spaniards first settled in the Philippines this latter mining region was being worked by Chinese.[1]

Around the Manila Bay region, or perhaps, more strictly speaking, around the region of Laguna de Bay and Lake Taal, many evidences of past Hindu influence are found which certainly date back to either the period of Sumatran or that of Javanese influence. This is true also of Panay and the small islands between Panay and the Batangas coast. Another region which in former times seems to have been the very cer ter of Hindu civilizing influences was the island of Mindoro, though with the destruction of the coast population there during the early years of the Spanish régime this latter island relapsed into a period of neglect and most of its former commercial and political glory disappeared.

In the island of Panay certain specific influences, particularly in the provinces of Capiz and Antique, are directly traceable to Javanese sources. These are exhibited in the arts and industries of the people, especially in their weaving, metal work, and jewelry. The typical bolo handles of this region represent interesting near-adaptations of Javanese gods, while others represent modified goddesses. Similar bolo handles of quite pure Hindu designs are also found in Cebu, Bohol, and Leyte, but here they represent a marked contrast in being wholly of Buddhist type, the lotus bud being their chief feature.

[1] It should not be gathered from these statements that the native Filipinos did not have mining methods of their own, since later records show that much of the actual work on the placer mines was done by the natives of the country. The Chinese records indicate that their mining operations were more in the nature of trading for gold actually planned by the natives. It seems likely, however, that nowhere was quartz mining practiced by Malaysian natives until the process introduced by the Javanese miners became known. And it is quite possible that the first exploration of mineral resources and the first actual mining operations were initiated by either Sumatran or Javanese Hindo-Malayan people. This is known to have been the case in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, and there is no good reason for believing that any different condition prevailed in Borneo and the Philippines.

180. Religious Influence of Madjapahit in the Philippines. Archæological exploration of the Philippine areas mentioned above has brought out a great many objects of undoubted Hindu-Malayan origin. Particularly interesting are the images of bronze or copper and one famous image of gold, while a good variety of gold beads and other ornaments from very early times have been found in ancient burial mounds.

GOLD IMAGE FOUND IN THE AGUSAN RIVER VALLEY

The figure, which is a little more than eight inches high, is of pure gold with a bullion value of more than two thousand dollars. This image is believed to have been made by Javanese miners working in the Mindanao gold fields between the years 1350 and 1400. An account of this image has been published in the Quarterly Report of the Netherlands-India Archæological Survey for the third quarter, 1921. (In the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago)

Several of these images from Cebu and eastern Mindanao represent Siva, the Hindu god, whose cult everywhere dominated the worship of the Madjapahit Javanese. In all probability these images date back to the time of Javanese influence in the Philippines.

181. The Penetration of Javanese Culture in the Philippines. When we study the present culture of the people of Mindanao, the extensive penetration of Javanese culture is so obvious that there can be no doubt whatever of intimate contact over a considerable period of time. Hindu influence is everywhere

distinguishable in the social life and religious practices of both the pagan and the Mohammedan people, while some features of this life are obviously from a Javanese rather than from a Sumatran source.

182. Metal Work in the Philippines. In the economic and commercial life of the same people there are also certain Javanese characteristics that are even more easy to identify than those affecting social life only. It is not easy to point out any one prominent feature of economic life, except possibly agriculture, that does not show some traits of Javanese influence. Probably the art of working in metals and the types and designs of bodily adornments stand out most clearly.

In the Cotabato River valley and around Lake Lanao metal-working was, and perhaps still is, more highly developed than in any other region of the Philippines. The work done in gold and silver and the types of ornaments made from different metals are strikingly Javanese, with certain modifications of equal artistic quality that have doubtless been an independent contribution of the Philippine artisans. In the finer types of work in bronze and brass Javanese characteristics are almost equally dominant.

In Sulu there was an ancient metal industry developed to nearly as great a degree, but in modern times this industry has declined and one has to fall back upon the older articles in the possession of the people for examples of Javanese and Sumatran influence. The same is true to a very great extent throughout the northern Philippines. The necklaces of gold beads made by Tagalog women in pre-Spanish days show an artistic quality that is the equal of any similar work in any part of the world. Although in some localities the designs used in this work have survived in one form or another, none of the old types of bead necklaces and finger rings have been made in the Tagalog area since the first century of the Spanish régime.

The study of this ancient jewelry is a very interesting subject, as it brings out particularly the extent of Indian

influence through both Sumatran and Javanese intermediaries in all the most highly developed ancient handicrafts of the Philippines.

183. Weaving and Clothing. Javanese designs in weaving seem to have affected the Philippines relatively little, except in the island of Sulu, where the influence has probably not been derived so much from the period of Javanese contact as it has from the later desire to imitate locally old Javanese garments imported in former days. On the other hand, Sumatran influence is everywhere visible in the present-day weaving of Borneo and Mindanao. In the central and northern Philippines any influence that may have existed in pre-Spanish days has disappeared with the adoption of the Mexican and the European styles of garments that are at present used among the entire Christian population. The evidence of comparative studies of costume indicates that the present styles of dress among most of the lowland Filipinos were derived originally from Mexico in the early Spanish days, and in later times were modified into a more-and-more European style.

184. Commercial Influence of Java. In commercial matters we best see the extent of Indian influence when we begin to examine the measures of value and quantity. Many of the old names for money used in Philippine languages are of Indian origin, as well as most of the measures of weight and volume. Such common words as *salapi* (*isa lupi*, "one rupee"), *siping*, *ganta*, etc., are all importations from South India through Malayan intermediaries; and such words as *tanso*, *pilac*, etc., are originally Indian names of metals now applied to coins. The majority of Filipino names for money and measures are Indian and a few of the others are Chinese.

185. Spanish Culture takes the Place of Javanese Culture in the Philippines. That no further evidences of Javanese culture exist today in the Philippines is due to the religious zeal of the early Spanish missionaries and the gradual penetration of Spanish-European culture.

186. Summary of Hindu Influence. The Indian culture made itself felt most strongly in the political, social, and religious life of the populations among which it spread. Its material influence was relatively less important, except perhaps in metal-working and in the art of war, though modes of dress and of personal ornamentation were also greatly affected. At the time of the Spanish discovery not only were the more civilized Filipinos using the Indian syllabaries for writing, but their native mythology, folklore, and written literature all had a distinct Indian cast. The same was true of their codes of laws and their names for all sorts of political positions and procedures. The more cultured Philippine languages contain many Sanskrit words, and the native art a noticeable sprinkling of Indian design. A strong Brahmanistic religious element was also certainly introduced, although it seems to have affected chiefly a limited class, as the mass of the people still clung to their more ancient pagan worship.

A long list of similarities in minor traits and customs might be cited, but in the main these would only serve to emphasize the general statements already made. With the exception of recent European culture, the Indian influences are on the whole the most profound that have affected Philippine civilization. It should be kept in mind, however, that these influences did not reach the Philippines directly from India, but came probably through Hindus or Hinduized Malays already long resident in Sumatra and Java.

QUESTIONS

I. Give an account of the beginning of the Singosari state. Who was Kartanagara? What change in Javan policy occurred on his accession to the throne? To what lands was his empire extended? Why was a Chinese expedition sent to Java in 1292? What was the outcome?

II. Who was Raden Widjaya? How did he establish the supremacy of Madjapahit? When did Gadja Mahda become prominent? What territories in Malaysia were conquered by him? What was his plan of conquest? What was the greatest period of Madjapahit's history?

III. What was the relation between Church and State in Madjapahit? Describe the central government of Madjapahit. With what countries was commerce carried on? What were the activities of the department of public welfare? Describe the capital city. What were the other great inland cities? What were the principal ports? What was the position of merchants in the social scale? Give the causes for the weakness and gradual break-up of the Madjapahit empire. When did it cease to be an empire?

IV. What regions in the Philippines were colonies of Madjapahit? When was the period of strongest influence of Madjapahit in Sulu and northern Borneo? What was the nature of Madjapahit's influence in Mindanao? What regions in Mindanao were occupied by Madjapahit? What other Philippine islands were controlled by Madjapahit? What method of mining was used in some of these islands? What evidences of Hindu influence have been found in Panay? What other islands furnish similar evidences?

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

Compare the relations between Madjapahit and Sri-Vishaya with those between Rome and Carthage.

Write an essay about Hindu influence upon Philippine civilization.

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CHAPTER XV

CHINA AND MALAYSIA IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

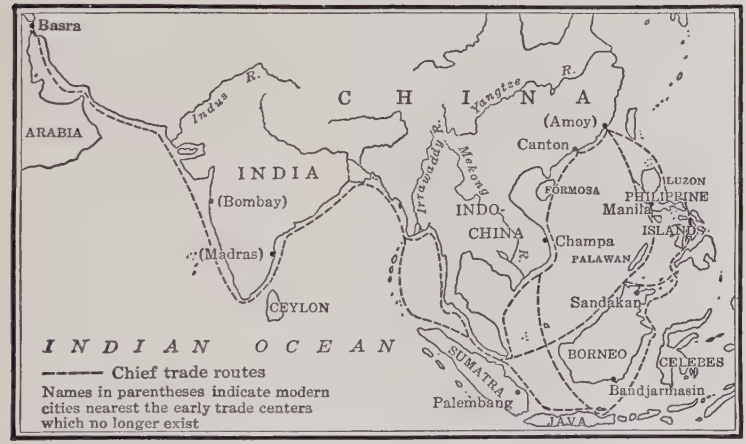
Third or fourth century.	Beginning of Chinese trade with Malaysia
977.	The king of Bruni sends envoys to China
1225.	The Chinese historian Chao Ju-Kua describes Mindoro and its people
1380.	Malacca founded by refugees from Sumatra
1400.	Mohammedans gain control of Malacca
1405–1434.	Chinese expeditions to various parts of the Malay world
1417.	The rulers of Sulu visit the Chinese court

187. China's Early Relations with Malaysia. At the time the European barbarians of the north were conquering Rome,[1] a southward movement in the Far East was taking place, — the flow of the cultured Chinese into Malay lands, and the spread of Chinese civilization in Malaysia. According to the consensus of opinion the date of first Chinese intercourse with the East Indies goes back to the third or fourth century of the Christian Era.

The sailing routes followed by the Chinese vessels in their voyages to India are fairly well known, but those used in trading trips through the Malaysian lands have not been so carefully studied. However, it is known that the Chinese always sailed with the trade winds, going south before the northeast monsoon and returning home with the southwest monsoon. On the outward voyage it was the custom to follow the Asiatic coast. But on the home trip the ships of Amoy probably sailed along the west coasts of Borneo, Palawan, Luzon, and Formosa. In fact, the sailing directions in the Chinese books

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, §§ 178–187. Ginn and Company, 1924.

indicate that ships bound for the Sulu Archipelago, eastern Borneo, and, in the later centuries, even for Bandjarmasin and Java, first crossed over to the island of Luzon and then sailed southward through the Philippines. The Chinese ships usually kept close to the coasts, but their pilots already enjoyed the use of the mariner's compass and if necessary could venture into seas where no land could be seen for days.[1]



Chinese Sea Routes in the Fifteenth Century

188. Accounts of Malaysia by Chinese Buddhist Pilgrims. The largest body of accurate chronological knowledge concerning the early history of Malaysia is furnished by the Chinese records. The first Chinese to visit and write of Malay lands was a Buddhist pilgrim, named Fa-hsien, who went overland to India, A.D. 400, sailed from Ceylon to Sumatra (413), in an Indian ship, and then went to China in 414. The size of the ships is indicated by the fact that they each carried a crew of about two hundred men. Fa-hsien states that the Sumatran people were

[1] The Arab and Indian sailors, on the other hand, steered their ships chiefly by the direction of the trade winds, and in emergencies by the aid of certain land-finding birds that they carried with them, which, when released, would fly directly toward the nearest land.

then Brahmans and not Buddhists. Many other Buddhist pilgrims visited India in the seventh century. The most famous of these later pilgrims was I-tsing, who in 671 sailed in twenty days from Canton to Sri-Vishaya in Sumatra. At that time this great Sumatran state was already beginning its rapid expansion, and the Menagkabau country and one half of the whole island had been annexed.

Chinese Jar of the Early Ming Period

Found in the island of Cebu

189. Chinese Traders in Sumatra and Java. Beginning with the last Sung dynasty (A.D. 960–1279), intercourse between Sri-Vishaya and China was fairly frequent and continuous until Sri-Vishaya was captured and destroyed by the great Javanese empire of Madjapahit in 1377. A large colony of Chinese traders and artisans was established in Sri-Vishaya, and at the time of the conquest by Madjapahit several thousand Canton and Fukien men moved away from the city and established themselves in a new settlement on the coast.

With regard to Java, intercourse with the Chinese has been fairly continuous from the fifth century down to the European period. The Madjapahit rulers, however, were always jealous of China's relations with their dependencies, and on occasions killed and maltreated imperial envoys sent to tributary states. This attitude was justified because Madjapahit's dependencies often appealed to the Chinese court in their opposition to pay-

ing tributes to Java. Bruni and Sulu, among others, tried to bring about trouble between China and Java for their own benefit.

190. The Chinese in Borneo and the Philippines. Our first really reliable Chinese records of Borneo and the Philippines also begin with the Sung dynasty in the tenth century. The credit for first bringing Bruni to the official notice of China was due to neither the Chinese nor the Borneans but rather to the enterprising Arab traders of Canton and Ch'uan-chou. It is not known just how early these Arab traders began trading with Bruni, but in 977 a certain Abu Ali and two other Arabs came to the Chinese court as envoys from the king of Bruni.

From the twelfth to the fifteenth century, accounts of Bruni, Sulu, Ma-i (Mindoro), and others of the Philippine Islands become more numerous. Before 1225 the Chinese vessels were making regular trading trips to nearly all parts of the Philippines. Many places are mentioned in the records, but descriptions are given of only a few. Apart from Sulu, which has always maintained closer relations with Borneo than with the northern Philippines, the most important trade center appears to have been Mindoro.

191. Chao Ju-kua's Description of Trade with Mindoro. Our first real description of the island comes from the account of Chao Ju-kua, written about 1225 but probably based on information collected in the previous century. The salient points of this account, plus a few notes from later Chinese sources, are as follows:

The island of Ma-i[1] is north of Borneo. It has high mountains and flat land, intersected by small rivers. A portion of the island is flat and broad and is watered by a double-branched stream.

[1] It is interesting to note that this name for Mindoro is still current among the pagan inhabitants of the southern part of that island, who call it Ma-it; also that the old Tagalog family name "Gatmaitan" means simply "Lord, or Prince, of Ma-it."

The soil is rich, and the climate is rather hot. The fields are very fertile and produce more than in any other country.

The people live together in villages. Both men and women do up their hair in a knot behind, and they wear long dresses and *sarongs* of different colors. [A later account here says, "They wear a blue cotton shirt." This was the costume of the common people of Madjapahit.] There are bronze images of gods, of unknown origin, scattered about in the grassy jungle.

Pirates seldom come to this country. When trading-ships enter the anchorage, they stop in front of the officials' place [or place of the mandarins], for that is the bartering-place of the country. There is a great market there. After a ship has been boarded, the natives mix freely with the ship's folk. The chiefs are in the habit of using white umbrellas, for which reason the traders offer them as gifts.

The custom of the trade is for the barbarian traders to assemble in crowds and carry the goods away with them in baskets; and, even if one cannot at first know them and can but slowly distinguish the men who remove the goods, yet there will be no loss. The barbarian traders will after this carry these goods on to other islands for barter, and, as a rule, it takes them as much as eight or nine months till they return, when they repay the traders on shipboard with what they have obtained for the goods. Some, however, do not return within the proper term, for which reason vessels trading with Ma-i are the latest in reaching home.

192. Rise of the Malaccan Empire. The end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century were marked by great and rapid changes in the political and religious connections of Malaysia. The fall of the Sumatran empire of Sri-Vishaya in 1377 had made the empire of Madjapahit supreme throughout the archipelago, but the Javanese were often cruel taskmasters and nowhere did they develop the spirit of willing coöperation on the part of the Malayan population of other islands. Also in Indo-China in the north at this time a new power was growing up. Siam, long subject to the Indo-Malayan state of Cambodia, now threw off the yoke and

conquered its former overlord. The Siamese then began to push outward into the Malayan area. The movement for seeking freedom from Javanese tyranny and equally for seeking protection against the growing Siamese menace centered around the new state of Malacca in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula. This was founded about 1380 by refugees from Sri-Vishaya and the Sumatran states overcome by Madjapahit during the preceding decade. They built up at Malacca by the year 1400 a big city with a very well-organized government and a very cosmopolitan population. Two strong elements were represented: first, the Buddhist from Sri-Vishaya and the old Singapore, and, second, a considerable population derived from the new Mohammedan Malay states of Pasay, Samudra, and Achin at the northern end of Sumatra. The early rulers were Sri-Vishaya Buddhist, but the Mohammedan population was constantly on the increase through the active efforts of a group of Arab-Mohammedan missionaries whose activities will be more fully discussed hereafter when we come to take up the spread of Mohammedanism throughout Malaysia. It seems evident that in Malacca soon after the year 1400 the Mohammedans gained the ascendancy, and after that date all the remaining rulers were of the Mohammedan faith.

Early Malacca then, being menaced by Java on the south and by Siam on the north, began to seek friends and developed lines of expansion chiefly to the east and to the west. In the east her Mohammedan propagandists spread rapidly through Borneo, Sulu, Mindanao, and down to the Moluccas, while on the west she united herself in friendly alliance with Mohammedan states covering the northern half of Sumatra, retaining also certain more distant relations with the Mohammedans now spreading so rapidly over India.

193. Malaccan Cultivation of China's Friendship. Against the immediate menace of intervention from Siam and Java, however, Malacca, as well as all her Mohammedan allies, sought protection from another source. This is evidenced by

the prompt and universal turning of these Islamic states toward China, where a new Chinese dynasty had replaced the Mongol emperors and developed a new and more vital interest in the island countries of the south. The great wealth and power of China had long been known in southern seas, but it may be doubted whether anything but the immediate threat of

OLD CHINESE TEMPLE AT MACASSAR

Chinese merchant colonies were established in various parts of Malaysia. This temple, at Macassar in the island of Celebes, is said to be one of the finest Chinese temples in the East Indies

new and well-armed enemies would have induced such a general turning toward China for aid and protection as we see beginning in the early years of the fifteenth century. All traditional policy of the Chinese themselves toward other countries had always been one of a friendly but proud and dignified isolation. The attitude of the Chinese was largely this: that China had nothing to gain from intercourse with other lands but that on account of her great and superior civilization she might teach

and improve them. For these reasons visits from foreigners were always encouraged as tending toward the spread of a beneficent and enlightening Chinese civilization. To most of the Chinese emperors the peoples of the south were only the *Nan-man*, or southern barbarians, but when the Ming dynasty came to the throne a real effort was made to extend China's trade and influence among the peoples of Malaysia.

194. The Expeditions under Cheng Ho (1405–1434). The third Ming emperor, generally known by the title of Yung Lo, was the first to put into effect plans for fulfilling these ambitions which had been developing from the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The first effort resulted in the organization of a great expedition, consisting of a fleet of sixty-two huge vessels (said to have been the largest ever built in China, some of them measuring as much as four hundred feet in length) carrying twenty-seven thousand, eight hundred soldiers as well as provisions and considerable quantities of gold and silk for presents. This fleet was placed under command of a high official of the court, a Yunanese by the name of Cheng Ho, who, next to the great Javanese minister, Gadja Mahda, came later to exercise more influence in Malaysia than any other single individual in its history.

The expedition of Cheng Ho sailed from northern China in July or August of the year 1405. This expedition seems first to have landed in the Gulf of Lingayen in Luzon, and from there sailed to Manila, and from Manila to Sulu. From Sulu they went to Bruni and to Champa on the Indo-China coast. The expedition visited Java, Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula, returning to China in October or November of the year 1407. In 1408 Cheng Ho again sailed with his fleet, probably over much of the same route, but this time going on as far as the island of Ceylon, which he conquered, carrying the king as a prisoner to China in the year 1411. From 1412 to 1415 Cheng Ho made a third expedition, chiefly to Sumatra, where he carried on an active war against certain resisting

states and ultimately conquered the whole northern end of that island. During his later career Cheng Ho made three other expeditions of a peaceful character to the Malayan countries, 1416 to 1424, and in his final great expedition from 1430 to 1434 he made his way as far west as the Strait of Ormuz on the Persian Gulf.

195. Malayan Embassies to the Court of China (1406). Beginning with the year 1406 the Chinese annals list a series of visits made by various Malay sovereigns to the Chinese court. These visits were evidently one of the first effects of Cheng Ho's early expedition. It seems probable that numerous Malay sovereigns volunteered submission to the Chinese emperor. Cheng Ho had been instructed to give rich presents and to invite them to visit the court of China and express their allegiance to the emperor in person. Since the years in which these sovereigns visited the Chinese court coincide in a general way with the times when Cheng Ho's fleet returned to China, it may be presumed that the transportation to China was made on his own vessel. Envoys from both Pangasinan and Luzon and from Bruni and Borneo were sent to the Chinese court in 1406, and in 1408 the rulers or chiefs from both Luzon and Bruni actually visited the Chinese court themselves, accompanied by a considerable retinue of followers. They were made welcome there, were well entertained, and were given valuable presents by the emperor. As a matter of fact, the king of Bruni was given a residence at the court and remained there for two months, at the end of which time he died.

196. Later Embassies. In the years 1410 and 1412 the son of the former Bruni king also visited the Chinese court, and later, between 1415 and 1425, he sent an envoy to China on four different occasions with presents for the emperor. We have records of visits by many other Malayan kings and rulers to the Chinese court, including the rulers of both Sulu and Malacca. The king of Malacca visited China first in 1411, and

he and his successors continued to make other visits for a long time at certain intervals. Three rulers of Sulu went together to the court of China in the year 1417, taking with them their families and chief followers to the number of more than three hundred and forty persons. It is said that they presented to the emperor a letter of gold with the characters engraved upon it, and offered pearls, precious stones, turtle shells, and other articles as gifts.

A Chinese Jar found in Cebu

Jars of this type were imported from China during the fifteenth century and were used throughout the Philippines and Malaysia

197. Decline of Chinese Influence in Malaysia. From the above accounts we see that so long as Cheng Ho remained alive and continued his periodical visits, the relations of different Malayan lands with China were both intimate and frequent. Immediately after Cheng Ho's death, however, we begin to find a falling off in the number of tributary embassies, and after the middle of the fifteenth century they were continued from only two or three places. As the local rulers of the scattered Malaysian islands found that the only force behind the Chinese emperor's commands was contained in written reproofs and verbal arguments of ambassadors, they gradually ceased sending gifts and expensive embassies to the Chinese court and devoted their attention

to their own local problems and their warlike neighbors. When the Sri-Vishaya empire and the Madjapahit empire began to break up, and their fleets were withdrawn from the Malaysian seas into home ports, the small native states which the visits of these fleets had kept subdued were no longer subject to force. So, again, when Cheng Ho's fleet was withdrawn from the waters of Malaysia, the small native states and scattered islands began rapidly to fall apart and to resume their own local quarrels.

198. China's Contribution to Malayan Culture. The general character of Chinese influence in Malaysia was, and is, economic, rather than social or political. Iron, lead, gold, and silver seem to have been derived chiefly from the Chinese, while brass, bronze, copper, and tin came mainly from Indian sources. Certain weapons and the manufacture and use of firearms are of Chinese origin. In clothing and ornament the Chinese influence was also felt. The jacket with sleeves, the loose trousers worn by Moro women, glass beads, many types of hats, raincoats, and footgear have Chinese origin. Silks, porcelain, and all kinds of glazed pottery came from China. Practically all the words in Malayan languages which can be traced to Chinese origins are of a purely commercial nature.

There appear to have been few Chinese settlements in Malay lands before the thirteenth century, but after that they increased rapidly. Practically all settlers married native women and brought up their children as Malays rather than as Chinese.

On the whole, it may be said that whereas the Indian culture penetrated to the very heart of Malay mental and social life the Chinese merely scratched the surface. This great difference is the more worthy of note when we remember that in the neighboring countries of Indo-China, Siam, and Burma wave after wave of Chinese people and culture have swept down from the north and almost completely drowned out the older native languages and customs.

QUESTIONS

I. When did the Chinese begin to move south into Malaysia? What were the sailing routes of the Chinese in going to Malaysia? Who was the first Chinese to visit and write about Malay lands? When was intercourse between China and Sri-Vishaya frequent and continuous? When was intercourse between China and Java continuous? By what time were Chinese vessels making regular trading trips to the Philippines?

II. What important political changes occurred at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries in Malaysia? What elements were represented in the building of Malacca? With what states did Malacca establish friendly relations? What was the attitude of the Chinese toward other lands? Describe the expedition of Cheng Ho. How did that expedition affect some parts of the Philippines? Describe the relations of China with the Malaysian states. What was the effect of Cheng Ho's death on Chinese-Malaysian relations? Summarize the chief contribution of the Chinese to Malayan culture.

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Was China's fifteenth-century interest in commerce beneficial to the peoples of Malaysia?

CHAPTER XVI

THE EMPIRE OF MALACCA AND THE SPREAD OF ISLAM THROUGHOUT MALAYSIA

Fourteenth century.	Mohammedanism begins to spread through Malaysia
1450.	Raden Rahmat begins the conquest of Java
1478.	Raja Bonang conquers the capital of Madjapahit

199. Malacca and the Refugees from Sri-Vishaya. Although there is some evidence that a city existed on or near the site of Malacca in very ancient times, this place did not come into prominence until near the end of the fourteenth century, when it received a numerous and powerful addition to its population. At this time it became the final refuge of the leading nobles and their followers who were expelled from central Sumatra by the succession of great Javanese expeditions begun by Kartanagara in 1275 (§ 163). These refugees did not come directly to Malacca, however, but settled first in the lowlands on the eastern coast of Sumatra and in southwestern Borneo. The later conquests of Madjapahit, which culminated with the destruction of the old Singapore in 1378, forced these refugees to move still farther to the north and west, and Malacca seems to have offered a place where they could maintain permanent independence. As we have seen in Chapter XV, they early enlisted the aid of China against their Javanese enemy, and it was under the protection of Cheng Ho's great fleet that a real Malaccan empire was established. Before we take up the final development of this empire, however, it will be necessary to deal with the advent of Mohammedanism into the Malay region — for it was Mohammedan influence and propaganda that made Malacca a real empire and undermined the power and influence of Madjapahit.

200. Arab Traders and Arab Missionaries. While the early commercial history of Arabs in the East has been discussed in previous pages and some incidental mention of Mohammedanism has also been made, it now becomes important to make a fuller and more logical discussion of the introduction, spread, and political influence of this new faith. The earliest Arab traders were, of course, not Mohammedans,[1] and even after

PAST AND PRESENT EXTENT OF MOHAMMEDANISM IN THE EAST INDIES

Mohammed's time[2] the traders, though mostly Moslems, avoided mixing religion with commerce and did not conduct any decided propaganda for the new faith. The real spread of Islam in Indo-China and Malaysia was owing to the work of professed missionaries rather than to traders. In fact, recent studies have brought out the remarkable fact that the Mohammedanism of the Malay archipelago came almost entirely from

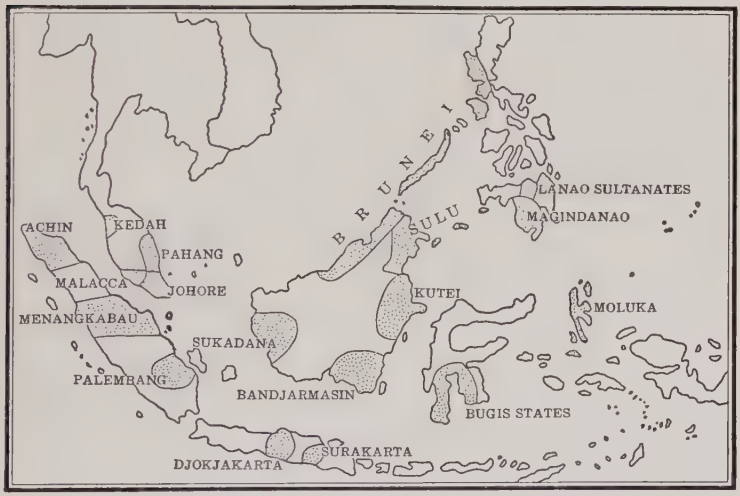
[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, § 32. Ginn and Company, 1924. [2] See ibid. § 190.

a single great family of southern Arabia, and that, with the spread of their faith, the descendants of this family managed through intermarriage gradually to gain control of political affairs in the majority of the Malay states. These early missionaries were all from the Sayyids of Hadramaut, a place on the southern coast of Arabia, who are generally regarded as the most unquestioned claimants to direct descent from Fatima, Mohammed's daughter.

201. Mohammedanism in India. We have already seen in connection with India (§ 39), that the first important Mohammedan state there was established in the valley of the Indus in the early part of the eighth century, but that the permanent conquest of India did not begin until A.D. 977. Before that time the Islamic arms had already spread their faith over the wide area extending from Spain and France in the west to the border of India. During the eleventh century Mohammedanism established itself firmly throughout northern India from the delta of the Indus to the delta of the Ganges, and at the end of the thirteenth century the independent Mohammedan empire of Delhi was officially recognized as such by the Khalif of Bagdad. During the fourteenth century this empire gradually pushed southward into the peninsula of the Dekkan, the gradual conquest of which resulted in the setting up of a multitude of small Mohammedan states, all nominally subject to the Delhi empire. The desolation of India by the great Mohammedan Mogul conqueror Tamerlane (§ 136), which began in 1398, was perhaps the real urge which sent such a large number of Mohammedan missionaries and propagandists eastward into Malaysia.

202. Early Mohammedanism in Malay Lands. While we have mention of Mohammedan units in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula as early as the end of the thirteenth century, it seems almost certain that these units consisted chiefly of Arab traders together with their native families and servants, and that the great spread of Mohammedanism took place

during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The first evidence of a Moslem ruler in Malaysia is found in the annals of Pasay in northern Sumatra, where the king of Pasay was married to the daughter of the Mohammedan ruler of the neighboring city of Perlak. The Pasay ruler himself became a convert to the faith, and his descendants remained Mohammedans. This story is corroborated both by the Mohammedan annals and by the great Venetian traveler Marco Polo, who



Mohammedan States in the East Indies

visited both Perlak and Pasay in the year 1292. Pasay was at that time the chief trading port of Sumatra. After the establishment of Mohammedanism at this point, it therefore became a center from which the religion was propagated and spread into the surrounding territory and, at a later period, on to other islands. It seems doubtful whether any Mohammedan native community was established outside northern Sumatra until the beginning of the fifteenth century, and, in fact, it is from this latter date that the real Mohammedan records preserved in Malay lands began.

203. The Sayyids — Missionaries and Rulers. It was immediately after the great Mogul invasion of India that the activities of migrating Sayyid missionaries began. While they may have first concentrated at Pasay, it was really across the strait at the relatively new city of Malacca that they found an ideal center for developing that type of combined religious and political penetration which characterizes their whole history in Malay lands. As a general plan of campaign, the Hadramaut Sayyids seem to have always sent in advance a few native Mohammedans to the court of the little native raja or dato to preach the greatness and learning of the Sayyid teachers. So soon as a ruler expressed the desire to see or hear a great Arab teacher (a descendant of Mohammed), one of the Sayyids was immediately fetched from Malacca. Upon his arrival at the local court the great Sayyid almost invariably married a daughter of the ruler or of the prime minister and within a generation or two, at most, the children of this Sayyid were seated upon the throne of the kingdom or were actually conducting its affairs from the seat of the prime minister.

If we look at the dates when Sayyids began to occupy this position in the different Malay states we see how widespread their activities evidently were. In 1414 a Sayyid dynasty actually came to the throne of Delhi in India itself and still later certain Sayyids became rightfully known in India as the "king makers," since they set up and controlled for a brief period several of the weaker Mogul emperors. Many Sayyids are still to be found in India. In Malaysia we find that Sayyids occupied thrones or positions of control between 1407 and 1480 in most of the independent states in Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Sulu, Mindanao, Celebes, the Moluccas, and Java itself.

204. The Genealogy of Malay Rulers. In general all these Malay royal houses trace their ancestry to four separate nationalities: first, a more or less continued line of native ancestry; second, a royal Sumatran line to Sri-Vishaya; third,

an Arabic line going back through a Sayyid intermediary to Mohammed himself; and fourth, a Chinese line usually beginning at some point near, or subsequent to, the beginning of the Arabic line. It will be found that most Malay historians have not been satisfied with merely tracing their Indian ancestry to the Sumatran line but have carried it back, through Sumatra, to India itself. The Chinese line is usually the least royal in character, and in most cases — of which Bruni presents what is probably one of the best examples — the Chinese line is traced through the daughter of some wealthy merchant or Chinese envoy whose marriage to the local ruler was arranged by the Chinese merchant colony established in the country.[1]

Before leaving the subject of the Sayyids it may be noted that many members of this family have continued to come to Malaysia from time to time through all these succeeding centuries since the introduction of Mohammedanism into the archipelago. The respect that the people have for them in all Mohammedan Malay states is such that Arabs have taken advantage of a falsely constructed genealogy in order to impose themselves upon the people.

205. Reasons for the Expansion of the Empire of Malacca. It is not possible to trace here the detailed development of the Mohammedan states in Malaysia, but it should be noted that from the beginning of the fifteenth century Malacca began an era of expansion that might have resulted, had it not been for the coming of Portuguese and Spaniards, in an empire hardly less important or extensive than its two great predecessors,

[1] In this connection it is interesting to note that the ceremonies still practiced in Malay courts on the occasion of the crowning of a new sultan or other local ruler usually recognize this diversity of racial ancestry. In Bruni, for example, it is the custom for the young ruler to appear four times with his followers in different garbs, representing the four elements among his ancestry. He first appears in the native, or Visayan, dress, decorated with huge breechcloth so long that it requires more than a score of men to carry the ends. Later he appears successively in the Sumatran type of Indian dress, in Arabic robes, and finally in the Chinese costume — thus giving public recognition of all his ancestral lines.

Sri-Vishaya and Madjapahit. Doubtless the expeditions of Cheng Ho, previously discussed, had something to do with the rapidity of Malaccan expansion. There can be no doubt that Cheng Ho favored and encouraged Mohammedanism as a means of checking the inroads of Buddhist Siam from the north and of pushing back the Brahmanistic Javanese in the south. By the earnest propagation of the Mohammedan faith

PALACE OF THE FORMER RAJA OF GOA

Located at Macassar, in the island of Celebes. Buildings of this type are found in the Philippines and in Sumatra

the rulers of Malacca saw an opportunity not only to protect themselves from this threatening invasion from north and south but also to extend their influence over the wide area on the basis of a revived and purely Malayan culture. It should be noted that the Malayan peoples have always been decidedly democratic when left to themselves, and of all great modern religions Mohammedanism is least favorable to class distinctions or to any form of pomp and display. It is true that in most of the regions affected, Hindu influence had impressed

itself deeply upon the courts of the native rulers, who have continued even down to the present time to maintain states more in keeping with the Mohammedanism of India than with that of the Arabian motherland. Nevertheless, Mohammedanism in Malaysia has constantly tended to bring about an increasing degree of democratic relationship between the different classes of the community, and for this reason the

A Malay Mohammedan Mosque

A type of building found over a wide area in Malaysia

religion has maintained down to the present time a firm hold throughout the great majority of the islands of Malaysia.

206. Character of Mohammedan Civilization in the Celebes. One of the most interesting peoples of Malaysia — and the ones on whom Malay leadership descended after the destruction of Malacca itself by the Portuguese in 1511 — were the Bugis of the island of Celebes around the Gulf of Boni. In this great island the Bugis built up a stronghold and center of influence that maintained itself against European aggression

down to the middle of the ninth century. In fact, one of the most altruistic friends of the Malay peoples, Raja James Brooke, wrote as follows concerning Bugi leadership and institutions in 1840:

From this review, it will strike us that the government (or constitution) of Wajo, though ruled by feudal and arbitrary

BUGI HOUSE AT MACASSAR

Houses of this type are used by the Tagalogs in southern Luzon

rajahs, though cumbersome and slow in its movements and defective in the administration of equal justice between man and man, yet possesses many claims to our admiration, and bears a striking resemblance to the government of feudal times in Europe, or rather that period in the Low Countries when the rights of free citizens were first acknowledged.

We cannot fail to admire in these infant institutions the glimmer of elective government, the acknowledged rights of citizenship, and the liberal spirit which has never placed a single restriction upon foreign or domestic commerce. That a people advanced to this point would gradually progress if left to themselves and uncontaminated, and unoppressed, there is every

reason to believe; and in the decline of their circumstances, and the decay of their public institutions, we may trace the evil influence of European domination.

207. The Rise of Mohammedan Rulers in Java. The history of Mohammedanism in Java is somewhat different from that in most of the other islands of Malaysia. The religion of Islam first established itself in Java during the early decades of the fifteenth century, at which time the decline and break-up of the Madjapahit empire had already reached an advanced stage.

Like other Malay states, however, Java received its first Mohammedan propaganda from Malacca. It is probable that a good many of the Javanese merchants, who had a quarter of their own in the city of Malacca, were there converted to Mohammedanism, and that these converts aided in the later establishment of their newly acquired faith in the trading communities, such as Tuban and Grisseh, in northern Java. At any rate these two places were not only the most important trading communities of Java but also were unquestionably the first two Javanese cities to become wholly Mohammedan. The oldest and most venerated of the Mohammedan missionaries in Java was Malik Ibrahim, who appears to have been a Persian. After his death in 1419 a fine tombstone was erected on his grave, which is still well cared for and greatly venerated.

The most famous, however, of the propagators of Mohammedanism in Java was a remarkable character later known as Raja Bonang, whose biography occupies almost as important a place in the history of Java as that of Raden Widjaya, the founder of Madjapahit. This Raja Bonang was the first Mohammedan ruler of Java.

He was the son of Raden Rahmat of the kingdom of Champa in Indo-China. It seems likely that Raden Rahmat was already a Mohammedan before coming to Java, where, through the favor of his ruler, he was given a large estate in

the neighborhood of Surabaya. His great ambition was to establish himself in political power. So about 1450 he married a daughter of one of the greatest merchant families of Java. Also he gathered around him and enlisted in his service all the Mohammedans already in Java. His sons actually accomplished Raden Rahmat's ambitions. The oldest son was Raja Bonang. The father and the two sons, together with a few of the Sayyid missionaries, are today honored as the *walis*, holy ones or saints, most respected by the Mohammedans of Java Island.

The Tomb of Malik Ibrahim

208. Mohammedan Supremacy in Java. Within less than two decades the community of Mohammedans gathered around the court of Raden Rahmat and his son Raja Bonang expanded rapidly over all eastern Java and through the islands northward as far as the Moluccas. About 1470 the movement had become so strong that the last weak rulers of Madjapahit were forced to retire to the island of Bali.[1] In 1478 the capital city of Madjapahit itself fell into the hands of the Mohammedan leaders, after which time the latter remained politically supreme throughout Java. It required a considerable period before the masses of

[1] They put in force a rigid law that has remained in effect down to the present generation, that no Mohammedan could ever land upon the island.

the people abandoned their own belief in favor of the new faith, and even today much of the old Hinduism survives in Javanese Mohammedan worship. In Java, as everywhere throughout Malaysia, Mohammedanism became a living faith only at the courts of the rulers and in the largest cities and

ROYAL FUNERAL IN BALI

According to an ancient Hindu custom, still observed on the island of Bali, the bodies of deceased rulers are burned in wooden figures of animals

towns, while the masses of the country people still retained much of their old native Malaysian belief, mixed with the folklore and myth of the Hindus.

The history of Mohammedan rule in Java is essentially a history of four great states, — Demak, Hadjang, Bantam, and, lastly but greatest of all, Mataram. The history of all these states is bound up with the history of the activities of the first Europeans in Java.

QUESTIONS

I. Were the early Arab traders in Malaysia interested in spreading Mohammedanism? To whose efforts was the spread of Islam mostly due? Describe the spread of Islam in India. When did Mohammedanism spread in Malaysia? What caused the invasion of Malaysia by Mohammedan missionaries? What was the importance of the state of Pasay in the spread of Mohammedanism? What was the importance of Malacca? Who were the Sayyids? What countries in Malaysia came under their control? What position did the Sayyids occupy in Malaysian communities? How did the growth of Mohammedanism affect the progress of Brahmanism and Buddhism in Malaysia? What was the influence of Mohammedanism on the growth of democratic relations? Who are the Bugis?

II. When did Mohammedanism establish itself in Java? From what center did it come? Who was Raja Bonang? How did he help Mohammedanism? When were the rulers of Madjapahit forced to retire to Bali? When did the city of Madjapahit fall into Mohammedan hands? Which portion of the population in Malaysia was chiefly affected by Mohammedanism?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

If the Portuguese and the Spanish had not reached the Far East when they did, would the Mohammedans have developed a strong empire, or would the "democratic influence" of Mohammedanism have prevented this?

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CHAPTER XVII

EARLY EUROPEAN INTERCOURSE AND TRADE AND THE BEGINNING OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL CONTROL

1453. Constantinople captured by the Ottoman Turks
1492. Columbus discovers America
1493. Papal Line of Demarcation (revised in 1494)
1498. Vasco da Gama reaches India by sea
1511. Albuquerque makes Malacca a Portuguese trading post
1521. Magellan reaches the Philippines (March 16)
1529. The Treaty of Saragossa between Spain and Portugal
1565. Legaspi establishes Spanish power in the Philippines

209. Europe seeks a Way to the Orient. The amount of early intercourse between eastern Asia and the countries of Europe is not often realized. We have already seen in Chapter VI how the Chinese, during the reign of the Han emperor Wu Ti (140–86 B.C.), extended their influence westward as far as the Caspian Sea and came into contact with the eastern outposts of the Roman Empire. From the time of this early contact, articles from the Far East steadily found their way westward into the European world. The earliest commerce was carried on by land, but later ages also saw the opening of trade by sea. The Arab trade at Canton, which was well established by the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian Era, and the spice trade, which was controlled first by the Hindus and later by the Arabs, added greatly to the amount of Oriental products which found their way into the markets of the West.

Until nearly the end of the fifteenth century this trade, so important to Europe, was carried on by middlemen — the Hindus, the Arabs, and the people of Western Asia; only a few Europeans, such as Marco Polo and his father and uncle,

had actually visited the countries of the Far East. When Constantinople was captured by the Ottoman Turks in the year 1453,[1] the old accustomed trade routes between East and West fell into the hands of a people who were not friendly to western Europe, and the Europeans were driven to seek new roads to the Orient, in order to supply themselves with the Far Eastern commodities which had now become necessary to their comfort.

210. Portugal opens the Road. Even before the fall of Constantinople the Portuguese had been engaged, for many years, in the explorations which finally resulted in the discovery of a new route to the Far East. Under the leadership of Prince Henry the Navigator, a brother of King Alfonso V, Portuguese explorers had begun, early in the fifteenth century, to push farther and farther southward along the Atlantic coast of Africa, hoping to reach the end of that continent and thus to find their way into the Indian Ocean. The continent of Africa extends much farther to the south than the Portuguese had expected, and they often became discouraged in their efforts to reach its southern extremity. In 1486, however, Bartholomeu Dias discovered the Cape of Good Hope and, after sailing a little way northward along the eastern coast, brought back information that a way around the great barrier had been found at last. Twelve years after Dias made this discovery, the Portuguese reached their goal. Sailing from Lisbon in July, 1497, with three small ships, Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and continued his voyage toward the northwest far beyond the point where Dias had turned back. From a point about two hundred miles north of Zanzibar, Da Gama struck out boldly across the Indian Ocean, and in the summer of 1498 he finally arrived at the Indian port of Calicut. At Calicut the Portuguese were able to exchange their European goods for a cargo of spices, and the little fleet returned safely and triumphantly to Lisbon, where they arrived in

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, § 454. Ginn and Company, 1924.

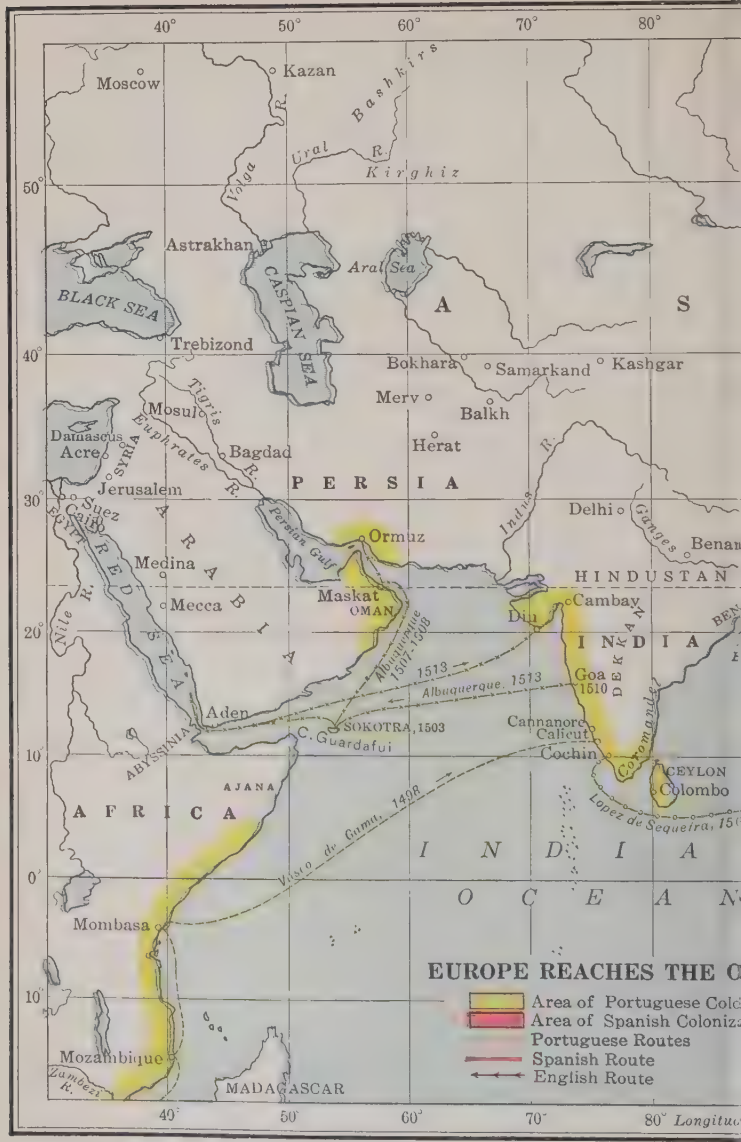
September, 1499, after an absence of twenty-six months. The long-sought ocean route between Europe and the East had been found. The Portuguese lost no time in developing the profitable trade which was opened up to them by the successful voyage of Vasco da Gama. In March, 1500, barely six months after Da Gama's return, thirteen well-laden ships were dispatched to Calicut under the command of Pedro Alvares Cabral. This fleet returned to Portugal in July, 1501, and in February, 1502, Da Gama was sent out at the head of a fleet of twenty ships. Spices and other Eastern goods were now pouring into Europe in much greater quantities than ever before, and Lisbon, which was the distributing center for these goods, quickly became one of the most important commercial cities of Europe.

211. The Portuguese and the Arabs; Albuquerque. It was not long before a bitter struggle broke out between the Portuguese and the Arab merchants, who had hitherto controlled the commerce of the Indian ports. The Portuguese had a bitter and long-standing hatred for the religion of Mohammed and were quite ready to make war upon Mohammedans wherever they were found, and the Arabs were not slow in showing resentment toward their new commercial rivals. Even in 1498 Vasco da Gama met with considerable Arab opposition in his trade at Calicut; two years later, when Cabral arrived with his fleet, the rough-handed methods of the Portuguese made it possible for the Arabs to stir up the people of Calicut to attack Cabral's merchants. Cabral succeeded in securing his spices at other ports, where the Arabs were not quite so influential as at Calicut; and Da Gama, when he arrived with his fleet of twenty ships, inflicted severe punishment upon Calicut for its anti-Portuguese riot. When Da Gama sailed for Portugal with his fleet-load of spices, he left several of his ships in the East with orders to make war upon the Arab merchants, and to attack their ships trading between India and the Egyptian ports on the Red Sea. By 1505 the Portuguese interests

in the East had become so important that the king sent an official to act as his viceroy, with supreme authority over all Portuguese in that part of the world. The viceroy was not satisfied with merely protecting Portuguese trade; he believed that it was his duty to destroy the Mohammedan trade and to secure for Portugal the absolute control of the Eastern seas.

In the fall of 1509 the first viceroy, Almeida, was succeeded by Affonso de Albuquerque, who directed Portuguese affairs for nearly six years and established the future policy of Portugal in the Far East. Almeida had believed that the best way to control the trade was to gain command of the sea, and he spent most of his time in fighting against the Arab ships. Albuquerque decided that it would be impossible for the Portuguese to command the sea unless they secured a number of strongly fortified ports which would serve as naval stations for their fleet and as centers for their trade. In 1510, therefore, Albuquerque attacked the important city of Goa, about three hundred miles north of Calicut, which he decided would be a suitable place for a Portuguese trading center. Goa surrendered with hardly any resistance at the first attack, but the arrival of a powerful army from the interior forced the Portuguese to abandon the city a few weeks later. During the late summer, reënforcements arrived from Portugal, and Albuquerque was able to reconquer Goa and to make it the Portuguese headquarters for the Far East. After his success at Goa, the Portuguese commander planned to proceed with the conquest of two other cities which he believed would be especially useful as trading stations: Ormuz, on the shore of the Persian Gulf, and Socotra, near the entrance to the Red Sea. From this new undertaking he was diverted by an appeal which came to him asking for immediate aid to his fellow countrymen in regions farther to the east.

212. The Portuguese at Malacca. Soon after their arrival in India the Portuguese had discovered that very few of the


40°
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Astrakhan
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BLACK SEA
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Samarkand
Kashgar
Merv
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Tigris
Mosul
Euphrates
Damascus
Acre
SYRIA
Bagdad
R.
Herat
Jerusalem
PERSIA
30°
Suez
Cairo
EGYPT
RED SEA
ARABIA
Persian Gulf
Ormuz
Indus R.
Delhi
Ganges
Medina
Mecca
Maskat
OMAN
HINDUSTAN
Cambay
Diu
Nile R.
20°
INDIA
DEKAN
Albuquerque 1507-1508
1513
Albuquerque, 1513
Goa
1610
Aden
ABYSSINIA
SOKOTRA, 1503
C. Guardafui
Cannanore
Calicut
Cochin
Coromandel
CEYLON
Colombo
10°
AJANA
AFRICA
Vasco da Gama, 1498
Lopez de Sequeira, 15
INDIA
0°
OCEAN
Mombasa
EUROPE REACHES THE C
Area of Portuguese Colo
Area of Spanish Coloniz
Portuguese Routes
Spanish Route
English Route
10°
Mozambique
Zambezi R.
MADAGASCAR
40°
50°
60°
70°
80°
Longitud

100°
110°
120°
130°
140°
150°
50°
40°
30°
20°
10°
0°
Approximate location of the demarcation line according to the treaty of Tordesillas, June 7, 1494
Spanish
Portuguese
MONGOLIA
MANCHURIA
I A
C H I N A
KOREA
Peking
Hwang R.
Nanking
Yangtze R.
Hangchow
Ningpo
Zaitun
Canton
Macao 1557
FORMOSA I.
HONSHU
KYUSHU
Hirado 1543
Nagasaki 1566
Kagoshima
CHIPANGU OR CIPANGO (JAPAN)
Jesuit mission founded by St. Francis Xavier 1549
P A C I F I C O C E A N
TROPIC OF CANCER
LADRONES OR THIEVES IS. (MARIANNE IS.)
March 1521
1580 Drake
GUAM
Magellan, 1521
CORAL IS. 1543
CAROLINE IS. Saavedra, 1528
EQUATOR
ST. LAZARUS IS. 1521
OR
PHILIPPINE IS. 1543
LUZON
1570
Manila
SIAM
Martaban
Ayuthia
Champa
PALAWAN
SULUAN
MINDANAO
RIFFINS, 1543
Brunei
1521
Achin
Malacca, 1509
Singapore
SUMATRA
BORNEO
TERNATE
1522
CELEBES
AMBOINA
1511
1511
JAVA
TIMOR
NEW GUINEA
SOLOMON IS.
East from 100° Greenwich 110°
120°
130°
140°
150°

spices came from India itself, and that most of them were brought there from the East. In 1509, therefore, Diego Lopes de Sequeira was sent eastward with a squadron of ships to seek out the real source of these much-esteemed commodities. Sequeira visited several ports at the western end of Sumatra and, in September, 1509, found his way to the great spice center of Malacca near the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula. Here the Portuguese were favorably received, but it was not long before their own arrogance and the hostility of the Arab merchants led to trouble. A sudden attack was made upon the Portuguese, and twenty of their number, who were on shore with a quantity of merchandise, were seized and thrown into prison. Sequeira's fleet was not strong enough to rescue the captives, so a call for aid was sent to Albuquerque. Albuquerque reached Malacca in the summer of 1511 with all the forces which he could assemble. The city was soon taken; the Mohammedan trade was completely wiped out; and Malacca was converted into a Portuguese stronghold and trading port, second only to Goa in importance.

213. The Cultivation of Friendly Relations. At Malacca, as in India, Albuquerque showed himself a ruthless enemy to the Arabs, but he made every possible effort to gain the friendly respect of the other commercial peoples whom he found trading at the port. Among the merchant ships in the harbor of Malacca when the Portuguese attacked the city were several Chinese vessels. Albuquerque treated the crews of these ships with great courtesy; and they carried back to their homeland a favorable report of the Europeans. After the capture of Malacca, Albuquerque sent envoys to the different states of Indo-China for the purpose of opening friendly intercourse with their governments. He sent one envoy to Pegu, a second to Siam, and a third to visit the ports of Cochin China and Tongking. At the same time he entered into communications with the king of Java and with some of the rulers in Sumatra, who were deeply impressed by the conquest of Malacca. As a

result of this friendly policy the Portuguese were able to put themselves on good terms with most of their new neighbors, and Malacca continued to be visited by merchant vessels from all parts of the Far East.

214. The Moluccas; Magellan. The possession of Malacca gave the Portuguese control of the great distributing center of the spice trade and brought them into close contact with the peoples of eastern Asia. They were now able to get accurate information with regard to the location of the islands from which most of the spices came; and Albuquerque, soon after the capture of Malacca, sent one of his captains eastward with a squadron of three ships for the purpose of exploring the "Spice Islands" (the Moluccas) and other parts of the archipelago. The squadron made an extended cruise, visited a large number of islands, and greatly increased the amount of information which the Portuguese possessed concerning the East Indies. Important though this work of exploration was for the Portuguese, our real interest in the little squadron arises from the presence of a man whose later exploits became even more famous than those of his commander in chief. One of the three ships had among its officers a young Portuguese gentleman named Fernão de Magalhães — better known in world history as Ferdinand Magellan.

215. The Westward Route to the Indies. While the Portuguese were finding their way around Africa to India and the Spice Islands, the Spaniards were trying to discover a route to the Indies by sailing westward. In 1492, six years after Dias had reached the Cape of Good Hope, Christopher Columbus sailed across the Atlantic Ocean and discovered some islands which he believed to be a part of the Indies. Columbus made three later voyages to the lands which he had discovered, always searching for a path that would lead him to the wealthy and powerful countries of Asia, while other Spanish explorers followed him across the Atlantic with the same object. But to the west of these first islands an unexpected continent rose

up before them, blocking their path to the rich lands of the Orient which they wished to reach.

In 1493 Pope Alexander VI, in order to prevent conflicts between the Spanish and the Portuguese, issued the famous Bull of Demarcation. An imaginary line was drawn from north to south a hundred leagues west of the Azores;[1] Portugal was to have exclusive rights of exploration and trade in all non-Christian lands east of this line, while Spain was to have similar rights west of it. At the time this arrangement was made the Portuguese had not yet succeeded in reaching India, and the Spanish were quite pleased with the bargain which, as they thought, would prevent their rivals from using the new westward route to the Far East. But it was not long after this that Vasco da Gama found his way to Calicut and returned with a rich cargo of spices; whereas the Spanish explorations in America, for some time, led only to the discovery of fresh lands inhabited by savage tribes.

216. Magellan under the Spanish Flag. For years the Spanish sought in vain to discover a passage through or around the "useless" mass of land which was blocking their path to the Orient. In September, 1513, two years after Albuquerque had established the Portuguese power at Malacca, Balboa crossed the mountains of Panama and reached the shore of the Pacific, which he called the South Sea. Standing on the shore of this new sea, the bold explorer claimed it and all the lands which were washed by its waves as possessions of his master, the king of Spain. More than seven years were still to elapse before a Spanish ship found its way into the great ocean which Balboa so boldly claimed; and when Spanish ships did at last succeed in reaching the Pacific, they accomplished the feat under the command of a Portuguese.

Ferdinand Magellan (Fernão de Magalhães), after his return from service in the Far East under Albuquerque, fell into dis-

[1] In 1494 Spain and Portugal agreed to move the line two hundred and seventy leagues farther west.

favor at the Portuguese court. Believing himself to be unjustly treated, he renounced his allegiance to the king of Portugal and became a Spanish subject. Magellan felt certain that the Spice Islands which he had visited in 1512 lay on the Spanish side of the Demarcation Line, and the Spanish king, convinced by his arguments, finally put him in command of an expedition to discover a westward route to these islands.

217. Strait of Magellan; the Pacific; the Philippines. On September 20, 1519, Magellan sailed out of the harbor of San Lucar with five ships and two hundred and seventy men on one of the greatest voyages in the history of the world. Steering southwestward until he reached South America, he sailed down the coast looking for a westward passage. Late in October, 1520, after one of his five ships had been lost by shipwreck, he arrived at the entrance to the passage which, in memory of its discoverer, is now called the Strait of Magellan. A second of his ships was lost — by desertion — while he was finding his way through the difficult strait; but Magellan never faltered, and on November 28, 1520, he led his remaining three vessels safely out of the strait into the open sea. In striking contrast to the stormy Atlantic which he had recently left behind him, the sea which he now entered was rippling gently under the warm rays of the early summer sun; because of its pleasant, peaceful appearance, Magellan named this new body of water the Pacific.

After sailing northward almost to the equator, Magellan turned his ships toward the northwest, expecting to reach the Moluccas at the end of a short voyage. But the voyage across the Pacific was much longer than he had calculated, and his course carried him so far to the north that he finally reached the East Indies a considerable distance north of the Moluccas. On March 16, 1521, nearly four months after it had entered the Pacific, the little fleet arrived in the Philippines. The first stopping place was the small island of Homonhon, south of Samar; but Magellan found it difficult to secure food here, so

he sailed southwest to another little island [1] south of Leyte. On this second island the Spaniards found a prosperous Filipino village, from which they were able to secure rice as well as coconuts, oranges, bananas, and other fruits. The people were friendly, and the village chiefs exchanged gifts with Magellan.

218. Death of Magellan. The Europeans of those days cared very little about the rights of non-European peoples, so Magellan, before leaving this island, solemnly claimed the entire group of islands as the territory of the Spanish king. At the same time he named them the Archipelago of Saint Lazarus, in memory of the day on which they had first been sighted. Having heard of the large town of Cebu, about eighty miles away, Magellan took his fleet there. The Cebuans were accustomed to trading with merchants from Siam and China, so they welcomed these new foreigners and showed themselves quite willing to carry on trade. Shortly after the Spanish ships arrived at Cebu, however, Magellan was killed in battle while aiding one of the local chieftains in a war against enemies. Magellan's interference in this petty war arose out of his desire to bring the Filipinos to acknowledge the supremacy of the Spanish king, and it was not long before the harsh methods of the Spaniards turned the early friendliness of the Cebuans to bitter hostility. As a result of this growing bitterness, the people arose against the strangers, killing some twenty-five of their number.

219. Circumnavigation of the Globe by the *Victoria*. The Spaniards now decided to resume their search for the Spice Islands. One of their ships was no longer seaworthy, so they burned it and set sail with the two that remained. After touching at Borneo and a number of other islands, they found their way at last to the Moluccas, where they soon exchanged their Spanish goods for a cargo of spices. It was decided that one of the two ships should return to Spain by the way they

[1] Limasawa.

had come, while the other should try to get home by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The first ship fell into the hands of the Portuguese; but the *Victoria*, under the command of Sebastian del Cano, safely found its way around Africa and reached Spain. On September 6, 1522, the *Victoria* reëntered the harbor of Seville. One ship and eighteen men were all that remained of the expedition which had set out nearly three years before; but this ship and its handful of survivors had circumnavigated the earth for the first time in history and had proved beyond question that the earth is a globe.

220. Mexico and Peru. In the same year that Magellan set forth upon his great voyage, Hernando Cortez, at the head of a Spanish army, entered the city of Mexico, the capital of the Aztec emperor Montezuma. The Aztec empire was quickly conquered, and the authority of Spain soon extended westward to the shores of the Pacific. Five years after Cortez had succeeded in making himself master of the capital of Montezuma, Francisco Pizarro and two companions fitted out a small force for the purpose of sailing down the Pacific coast of South America and conquering any people whom they might find there. Pizarro's first expedition was a failure, and he met many difficulties in his later attempts; but in 1532 he invaded the great empire of the Incas, captured the emperor, and made Peru a province of the Spanish crown.

These Spanish conquests far across the Pacific affected the Orient in two ways. In the first place, the enormous quantities of gold and silver which flowed into Spain from Mexico and Peru furnished Europe with an abundant supply of money that could be exchanged for the products of the Far East. In the second place, the occupation of Mexico established the Spaniards permanently on the American side of the Pacific Ocean and made it possible for them to follow up the claims which resulted from the voyage of Magellan.

221. Spanish Expeditions after Magellan. Immediately after the return of the *Victoria* to Spain in 1522, Charles I (better

known as Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire) determined to send a new expedition to the Far East by the route which Magellan had discovered. It was nearly three years, however, before this second expedition was ready to start. In July, 1525, it sailed from Corunna under the command of García Jofre de Loaisa, who was appointed captain general of the fleet and governor of the Moluccas. Other prominent officers of the expedition included Del Cano, who had commanded the *Victoria*, and Andrés de Urdaneta, a soldier-priest-scientist of high ability and character. Loaisa's expedition was a complete failure; the captain general and Del Cano both died during the voyage across the Pacific, several ships were wrecked, and the remainder of the fleet arrived in the Moluccas only to be captured by the Portuguese. After the capture of the fleet Urdaneta remained in the Moluccas until 1535, becoming thoroughly familiar with the geography of the East Indies and gathering much information which was later useful to his countrymen.

Two other Spanish expeditions to the Moluccas were equally unsuccessful. In 1526 Sebastian Cabot sailed from Spain with a fleet that turned back before reaching the Strait of Magellan. The next year saw the dispatch of an expedition from Mexico under Alvaro de Saavedra. This expedition succeeded in reaching Mindanao and the Moluccas, where it picked up a few survivors of the Loaisa expedition; but adverse winds prevented its return to Mexico, and Saavedra was finally compelled to surrender to the Portuguese.

222. Rival Claims to the Moluccas. These Spanish expeditions, sent out for the purpose of establishing Spain's authority over the Moluccas, had all been successfully opposed by the Portuguese, who now had many ships and a number of strong ports in the East Indies. The Spanish government claimed that the Moluccas lay on their side of the Demarcation Line, while the Portuguese declared that they had been the first to reach the islands and that the islands lay on the Portuguese

side of the line. Geographical knowledge regarding the eastern regions was not very exact in those days, and the Spanish were probably sincere in making their claim. As a matter of fact, however, the Portuguese were right and the Spanish were wrong with regard to the location of the islands. In 1524 two attempts were made to settle this dispute by negotiation, but both countries insisted upon their claims and no agreement could be reached. After the failure of the Saavedra expedition, Charles V began to grow discouraged; in 1529, therefore, he was willing to agree to a settlement with Portugal. By the Treaty of Saragossa Spain, for the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand gold ducats, gave up her claim to the Moluccas and agreed that the Line of Demarcation in the Pacific should be drawn two hundred ninety-seven and a half leagues east of the Moluccas.

223. Villalobos in the Philippines. For thirteen years Charles respected his agreement with Portugal, but in 1542 a fresh expedition was sent out from Mexico to the East Indies. This expedition was under the command of Ruy López de Villalobos, who received instructions to avoid the Moluccas and to establish permanent settlements in the Western Islands — a name which was then generally used for the Philippines. Villalobos touched at Mindanao, at Sarangani, and at Leyte, and named this last island Felipina in honor of the Spanish crown prince, who later became Philip II. At all these places the people were hostile, so the Spaniards had difficulty in securing food and found it impossible to establish a settlement. Finally, Villalobos turned southward to the Moluccas, where, like his predecessors, he was compelled to surrender to the Portuguese.

224. Colonization of the Philippines. More than twenty years passed after the failure of the Villalobos expedition before the Spanish government was ready to make a fresh attempt in the Far East. In 1556 King Charles of Spain was succeeded by his son Philip II, in whose honor the island of

Leyte had been named Felipina. The name "Las Felipinas" had come to be used by the Spanish to designate the entire group, and the new king soon made up his mind that these islands, since they bore his name, should also be brought to acknowledge his sovereignty. In November, 1564, an expedition which consisted of four ships with a force of three hundred and eighty men was dispatched from the Mexican port of Navidad. This expedition was commanded by Miguel López de Legaspi, and his chief adviser and navigating officer was the soldier-priest Urdaneta (§ 221). Because of the fact that the Moluccas and the Philippines both lay on the Portuguese side of the Line of Demarcation, Urdaneta believed that the expedition should attempt to colonize the island of New Guinea. The Mexican government gave Legaspi instructions to seize and colonize the Philippines. These orders he felt bound to obey.

THE LEGASPI-URDANETA MONUMENT

On his arrival in the islands, Legaspi found most of the people hostile, and he had great difficulty in securing a fresh supply of food for his fleet. At Bohol, however, the people and their chiefs were quite friendly, so he stopped here for food, and held a council of his officers to decide what should be done. The council decided that Cebu, where Magellan had met his

death, would be the most satisfactory location for a colony, and on April 27, 1565, this town was attacked and taken by storm. After the construction of a fort for the defense of the town, Legaspi felt that he could safely send one of his ships back to Mexico with a report of his success, and fresh forces were soon on their way to assist him in the work of conquest and colonization. Forty-four years after Magellan's arrival in the Philippines the Spanish at last succeeded in gaining a permanent foothold in the Far East.

QUESTIONS

I. Why was western Europe driven to seek new roads to the Orient toward the end of the fifteenth century? Who opened the road? What explorations made possible the discovery of a new route to the Far East? What effect did the Portuguese discovery have upon Lisbon?

II. Sketch the conditions in India at the close of the fifteenth century. Why did a conflict arise between the Portuguese and the Arabs? Why do we not have such conflicts today? What was Albuquerque's policy? Why was it so important? What was the result of the trouble between the Arabs and the Portuguese at Malacca? To what did Malacca owe its importance? What steps did Albuquerque take to continue this importance?

III. What route to the Indies did Spain follow? Look on the map and locate the line which was to separate the Portuguese and the Spanish possessions. Give a full account of Magellan's career. What was the fate of the Loaisa and Saavedra expeditions sent out by Spain? Why did both Spain and Portugal claim the Moluccas? How was the dispute settled? What were the instructions given to Villalobos? Were the Philippines on the Spanish side of the line established by the treaty of 1529?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Compare the Portuguese and Spanish policies in Malaysia with the policies of fifteenth-century China.

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PART IV. EXTENSION OF EUROPEAN INFLUENCE IN THE ORIENT

(1550–1860)

CHAPTER XVIII

THE GREATNESS AND DECLINE OF PORTUGAL'S ORIENTAL EMPIRE

1565–1580.	Friction in the Far East between Portuguese and Spanish
1571.	Beginning of regular voyages by the Manila galleon
1577–1580.	Drake's voyage around the world
1580.	Union of Portuguese and Spanish crowns
1595.	The Dutch begin to trade in the Orient
1600.	Formation of the London East India Company
1602.	Formation of the Dutch East India Company
1641.	The Dutch take Malacca; end of Portuguese supremacy

225. Portuguese and Spanish. For more than sixty years after the voyage of Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese had little serious rivalry in their position as the connecting link between the Far East and Europe. The warlike operations of Almeida and Albuquerque soon drove the Arab merchants from the Indian Ocean, destroying their trade between India and the ports of Egypt and Persia. Magellan's voyage under the Spanish flag threatened to weaken the Portuguese position by establishing Spanish competition in the spice trade; but only one of Magellan's ships — the *Victoria* — succeeded in returning to Spain with a cargo from the Moluccas. The next four Spanish expeditions were total failures: every ship which the Spanish sent to the East Indies under Loaisa, Cabot, Saavedra,

CHRONOLOGY OF ORIENTAL HISTORY (1550–1850)

Malaysia (including Indo-China)	India	China	Date	Korea	Japan	Important Western Events
1551. Buyin Naung becomes the ruler of Burma	1556–1605. Akbar	1557. Macao founded	1550			
1564. Legaspi's expedition to the Philippines						
1565. Native Siamese dynasty founded						
1571. Manila captured						
Manila galleon trade begun		Christian missions re-enter China			Nobunaga begins to reunite the country	Drake's expedition
						1580. Union of Spain and Portugal
					1590. Hideyoshi unifies the empire	1588. Defeat of the Spanish Armada
					1592. Spanish reach Japan from Manila	
1595. Dutch reach Java				Japanese invasion		
1600. Annam divided into (1) Tongking and (2) Annam and Cochin China	1600. English East India Company formed		1600	Korea closed	1600. Dutch reach Japan	
		1604. Dutch reach China			1603. Iyeyasu founds the Tokugawa Shogunate	
An archbishop appointed for Manila						1607. Founding of Jamestown, the first permanent colony of England in America
1602. Dutch East India Company formed						
					1622. Great Christian persecution begun	
1623. Massacre of Amboyna	The Moguls and English defeat the Portuguese				1624. Spanish expelled from Japan	
		1637. English reach China		1627. Manchu invasion		
	1640. Madras founded	1644. *Tsing* (*Manchu*) *dynasty*				
1641. Dutch capture Malacca	1658–1707. Aurangzeb	1661–1722. Kang Hi			1641. Japan closed to foreigners	Civil war in England
	1668. Bombay founded French found Surat	1685. Empire at peace				
1688. French expelled from Siam		1689. Treaty of Nerchinsk with Russia				

CHRONOLOGY OF ORIENTAL HISTORY (1550–1850) — CONTINUED

MALAYSIA (including Indo-China)	INDIA	CHINA	DATE	KOREA	JAPAN	IMPORTANT WESTERN EVENTS
	Break-up of the Mogul Empire	1717. Decree against Christianity	1700		Period of Tokugawa Seclusion	
		1730–1796. Chien Lung				
1753. Burma reunited with English help		Tibet permanently annexed				
1762. British occupation of Manila	1757. Battle of Plassey; French influence ended	Turkestan reconquered				1741. Bering discovers Alaska
1767–1782. Burma rules Siam						Seven Years' War
1780. Economic development begun in Philippines						American War of Independence
1782. Present Siamese dynasty founded						French Revolution
1798. Dissolution of Dutch East India Company		1783. First American ship arrives at Canton				
		1792. The Macartney embassy	1800			
1810. Filipino representatives in the Spanish Cortes						
1811. End of Manila galleon trade						1815. Congress of Vienna
1811–1816. British occupation of Dutch East Indies		1816. The Amherst embassy				
1819. British secure Singapore						
1830. Manila opened to foreign trade						
1837. Philippine representation in Cortes abolished		1840. War with Britain			Growth of anti-Tokugawa sentiment	
		1842–1844. The first treaty settlement				
1848. Reform of Dutch colonial rule						1848. The Revolutionary year in Europe
			1850			The United States acquires California

or Villalobos either failed to reach the island or was eventually captured by the Portuguese.

Not until the Legaspi expedition reached the Philippines did Portugal have a European neighbor in the East Indies, and this establishment of a permanent Spanish colony in the Philippines produced almost no change in Portugal's commercial position. The Spanish, unlike the Portuguese, were not primarily a commercial people, and their new colony could trade with Europe only by the way of Mexico. But from 1565 there were these two streams of European influence flowing into the Far East. From Spain as well as from Portugal came soldiers and missionaries, to establish European control or to scatter European ideas through the East Indies and other parts of the Orient. Until the close of the sixteenth century the Portuguese and the Spanish were free from the competition of the other European nations; the only opposition to their growing power was the opposition that came from the peoples whose lands they had invaded.

An Ancient Temple Arch

This ruined building on the island of Bali was already old when the first Europeans reached Malaysia

226. Portugal's Commercial Empire. The explorations which resulted in the Portuguese discovery of a route to the Far East had been carried on for the purpose of making Por-

tugal a commercial power; and the achievements of Albuquerque at Goa, at Malacca, and elsewhere had given the Portuguese complete control over the trade between Europe and the Eastern world. Lisbon, as we have seen, became the spice market of the West; and ships from every seaport in Europe came there to exchange the goods of their own countries for the products of the Orient. Much of the trade among the nations of the East also passed through Portuguese hands, or was compelled to yield to the Portuguese some share in the profits. Persia and Egypt could now obtain spices only through the Portuguese, while at Malacca every effort was made to encourage visits from the Siamese, Chinese, and other commercial peoples of the Far East. Nor did the European conquerors merely encourage these Eastern merchants to seek their spices at Malacca. Strong methods were employed to exclude all non-Portuguese from direct trade with the islands from which the spices came; and the capture of ship after ship belonging to the Spanish shows how effectively Portugal policed the Moluccas.

This absolute monopoly of the spice trade was not achieved by the efforts of private Portuguese merchants. The earliest explorations had been fitted out by the Lisbon government, and the government retained direct management of the trade as it developed. Royal governors and viceroys directed the operations in the Far East; royal ships patrolled the Moluccas to seize any trespassing outsider; other ships belonging to the king brought home the cargoes of spices for Europe; and the royal treasury received the largest share of the profits resulting from the commerce. Portugal was converted into a great trading company, with the government as its board of directors; all the energies of the nation were devoted to maintaining its great commercial empire, — many times as large, in area and population, as the little kingdom by which it was controlled.

227. Missionary Work of the Portuguese. The Portuguese did not attempt to develop colonies in the regions over which

they extended their influence. From the time of Albuquerque, they adopted the policy of maintaining a number of strongly fortified ports as bases for their commercial activities; but the Portuguese at these places were merchants and soldiers, not colonists. Commercial operations, the patrol of the sea, and the defense of the fortified ports made such heavy demands upon the population of Portugal that few able-bodied men could have been spared for the work of founding colonies. But while the Portuguese made no efforts at colonization, it was not long before they began to undertake missionary work among the peoples within their expanding commercial empire. In the early days each expedition and each commercial post had been provided with priests; but these priests were charged with the duty of looking after the spiritual welfare of the Portuguese, and made no attempt to win converts. In 1521, however, Portugal came under the sway of a new monarch, John III, who looked upon his connection with the Far East as furnishing him with an opportunity for spreading the Gospel of Christ to the uttermost parts of the world. Missionaries were sent to India, to Malacca, to the islands of the East Indies, and even to regions lying outside the field of Portuguese control. This missionary work grew so rapidly that a Bishop of Goa was appointed in 1538. Nineteen years later the Bishop of Goa was raised to the dignity of an archbishop, who, rivaling the viceroys in power and dignity, exercised authority over the missionary work throughout the entire Far East.

228. The Portuguese in Indo-China. The Portuguese had opened diplomatic relations with the strong states of Indo-China, especially Siam and Burma, as soon as they became masters of Malacca, and it was not long before they had established trading posts at a number of Siamese and Burmese ports. In Siam the newcomers appear to have confined themselves to legitimate trading operations, but in Burma the frequent civil wars supplied them with opportunities for less peaceful activities. Hundreds of Portuguese adventurers took service under

the rival warring kings, and in 1544–1545 a force of Portuguese mercenaries had an important share in capturing and looting the flourishing city of Martaban. Through their participation in these struggles the Portuguese succeeded in gaining, for a brief period, considerable influence in the southern part of Burma. Early in the seventeenth century Philip de Brito, a Portuguese soldier of fortune, rose to be governor of a small city in southern Burma. Taking advantage of a civil war, De Brito assumed the title "King of Pegu" and made an attempt to rule southern Burma as a province of the Portuguese Empire; but his capital was soon taken by the Burmese, and De Brito was put to death.

229. Growth of Spanish Power in the Philippines. When the Legaspi expedition reached the Philippines the Spaniards were acquainted only with the southern islands of the group, for which reason Cebu was selected as the place for their first settlement. This location, however, soon proved to be unsatisfactory. The Cebuans remained hostile to the invaders; it was difficult to secure here an adequate supply of food; and the Portuguese, suspicious of a Spanish settlement so near the Moluccas, sent an expedition to destroy the colony. Therefore Legaspi soon transferred his settlement to the northern side of Panay Island, while expeditions were sent to explore other islands still farther north. By 1569 the Spanish had established their authority at a number of places north of Panay and had reached the southern part of Luzon. In 1570 an expedition was sent to Manila, at that time an important commercial town ruled by a Mohammedan sultan; the following year Manila was captured and transformed into the Spanish capital of the Philippines. Strong forces were now sent to all parts of the islands for exploration and conquest. So energetically was this work carried out that by 1576, eleven years after the Legaspi expedition reached the islands, the Spanish had established their power over as much of the Philippines as they ever really succeeded in ruling.

230. Nature of the Spanish Rule. In the regions which they brought under their control the Spanish established themselves as lords over a conquered and subject people. The Filipinos were compelled to pay tribute for the support of their conquerors and were often drafted to cut timber for buildings, to work upon roads and other public improvements, or to row the Spanish ships. In return for their tribute and their forced labor, the Filipinos, in spite of the humane "Laws of the Indies" issued by the Spanish monarchs, received few benefits from the rule of their new masters. Most of the Spaniards in the Philippines cared nothing for the welfare of the people under their control, but were interested only in increasing the amount of the tribute which the Filipinos could be compelled to pay. The only improvements in the condition of the people were those brought about by the labors of missionaries. Philip II was a devoted supporter of the Catholic Church and was extremely anxious to spread Christianity to all parts of his domains; many missionaries were therefore sent out to preach the Gospel in his new possession. In 1581 a bishop was appointed for Manila, and ten years later there were a hundred and forty priests in the islands. By 1600 the bishop had been raised to the rank of archbishop, the number of priests had increased to more than four hundred, and Christianity had become firmly established. In addition to spreading Christianity, the missionaries tried to help the Filipinos by teaching them improved methods of agriculture and other valuable lessons in industry. They opened schools in various parts of the islands, laying the foundation of a church educational system which culminated, in 1601, with the establishment of a college at Manila.

231. The Trade of the Philippines; the Manila Galleon. Although the Philippines are very conveniently located for commerce with the neighboring countries, the Spanish government discouraged all attempts to make the new colony a center of trade with the Far East. Influential people in Spain

convinced the king that if trade grew up between the Philippines and Spanish America, the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru would flow out to the Far East instead of coming to Spain. The government therefore imposed severe restrictions upon trade between the Philippines and America. Trade was allowed only between Manila and the ports of Mexico; only one ship was permitted to make the round trip each year; the value of the annual cargo was not to exceed a certain fixed amount; and the right of participating in the trade was limited to high government officials and their friends. Trade between the Philippines and the ports of Spain was practically out of the question; the route by way of the Cape of Good Hope was controlled by the Portuguese, while the voyage by way of the Strait of Magellan was far too long and dangerous. As a result of these restrictions, therefore, the only trade between the Philippines and the Western world was that carried by the annual ship from Manila to Mexico, the "Manila galleon." For two hundred and forty years (from 1571 until 1811) this yearly voyage was an important event to the Spanish of Manila. If a voyage was successful, the cargo, which con-

A Spanish Galleon

The Manila galleons, whose annual voyages were such important events in Philippine commerce, were ships of this type

sisted of the finest Oriental products, and often represented an investment of a quarter of a million pesos, would be sold in Mexico at a hundred per cent profit. But there were storms, pirates, and uncharted seas to be feared; hence one could never tell whether the venture would result in a handsome profit or in a total loss. Some of the galleons were lost, but the successful voyages resulted in a steady flow of Mexican silver into the Philippines and from there into other parts of the Far East.

232. Spain and England; Drake. At the time of the Legaspi expedition, Philip II of Spain was engaged in an attempt to reconquer the rebellious provinces of the Netherlands.[1] Although England was nominally at peace with Spain, many of the English were aiding the Dutch against the Spanish king, while others were taking advantage of the situation to attack and capture the Spanish treasure-ships carrying gold and silver from Mexico to Spain. Not until 1588 did open warfare break out between Spain and England; but in 1577 Francis Drake, one of the boldest English adventurers, set forth with a fleet of five ships to attack and plunder the Spanish colonies along the Pacific coast of America. Of the five ships with which Drake started only his flagship, the *Golden Hind*, succeeded in reaching the Pacific Ocean; but Drake raided Spanish towns and plundered Spanish vessels along the coast of Peru until the hold of his single ship was filled with Spanish treasure. During the summer of 1579 he explored the coast of North America to a point a little north of the present boundary between California and Oregon; then he steered southwestward across the Pacific and returned to Europe by way of the Cape of Good Hope. On his return to England in 1580, Drake was accorded high honors by his sovereign, Queen Elizabeth; his ship, the *Golden Hind*, now shared with Magellan's *Victoria* the glory of having circumnavigated the world. At last an

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, §§ 361 ff. Ginn and Company, 1924.

English ship had found its way to Far Eastern waters, and England had shown herself to be the equal of Spain and Portugal in the art of seamanship.

233. Union of the Portuguese and Spanish Crowns. On his return voyage Drake had sailed through the Moluccas and even touched at Ternate and other places; but his ship was already so heavily laden with Spanish gold and silver that he made no effort to open trade with the people of the Spice Islands. Like the other people of western Europe, the English were obtaining a plentiful supply of spices, at a reasonable price, from the Portuguese. So long as this supply was available, there was little reason for the English to face the difficulties and dangers which would be involved in direct trade with the Indies; much greater profits could be obtained by piratical attacks upon the Spanish treasure-ships than could possibly result from entering into competition with the Portuguese. But in 1580, the same year that saw Drake's return from this world-encircling voyage, Philip II of Spain seized the Portuguese crown and placed it upon his own head. This event did not unite Spain and Portugal into a single kingdom; throughout his reign Philip kept the administration of the two countries separate and appointed none but Portuguese to official positions in the eastern possessions of his newly acquired kingdom. Yet the fact that the two countries now had the same king drew Portugal into Spain's wars with England and Holland, with the result that Lisbon was closed to the English and Dutch merchants.

234. The Dutch and English Invasion of the Far East. For a number of years England and Holland were able to obtain spices, in small quantities and at a much higher price, through the hands of neutral merchants. The destruction of Philip's "Invincible Armada," in 1588, broke the Spanish naval power, and it was not long after this that the Dutch and English determined to send their own ships to the East Indies for the spices which were now so difficult to obtain from Lisbon.

The Dutch were the first to act on this decision. In 1595 a Dutch fleet rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached Java, but was wrecked on the return voyage. This initial failure did not discourage the hardy mariners of the Netherlands; within three years they were trading at a number of ports in the islands, and by the year 1602 many Dutch ships had made profitable voyages to the Indies. So many rival companies were formed for the purpose of engaging in the Eastern trade that there was danger that all would be ruined through bitter competition. In order to prevent this result the various private companies were combined, in 1602, to form the Dutch East India Company, which for nearly two centuries had complete control of Dutch trade and colonies in the Far East.

The English did not invade the Orient until about five years after the Dutch. For a while they were content to rely upon the Dutch merchants for their spices; by 1599, however, the traders of Holland had so greatly increased their prices that an association of London merchants was formed for the purpose of trading directly with the Far East. In the year 1600 the London East India Company received a royal charter from Queen Elizabeth, and the following year saw the dispatch of five ships to the Indies. The English were far less active than the Netherlanders in developing this trade. Their company had only a small amount of capital, all of which was expended in fitting out the first expedition; so it was not until 1604, after the safe return of the first venture, that a second fleet of three ships was dispatched.

235. The Two East India Companies. Both the Dutch and the English came to the East Indies purely for purposes of trade. Unlike the Portuguese and Spanish ventures, the fleets sent out from Holland and England were financed by private investment, and the merchants who organized the two companies had no desire either to establish colonies or to spread Christianity and European civilization among the peoples of

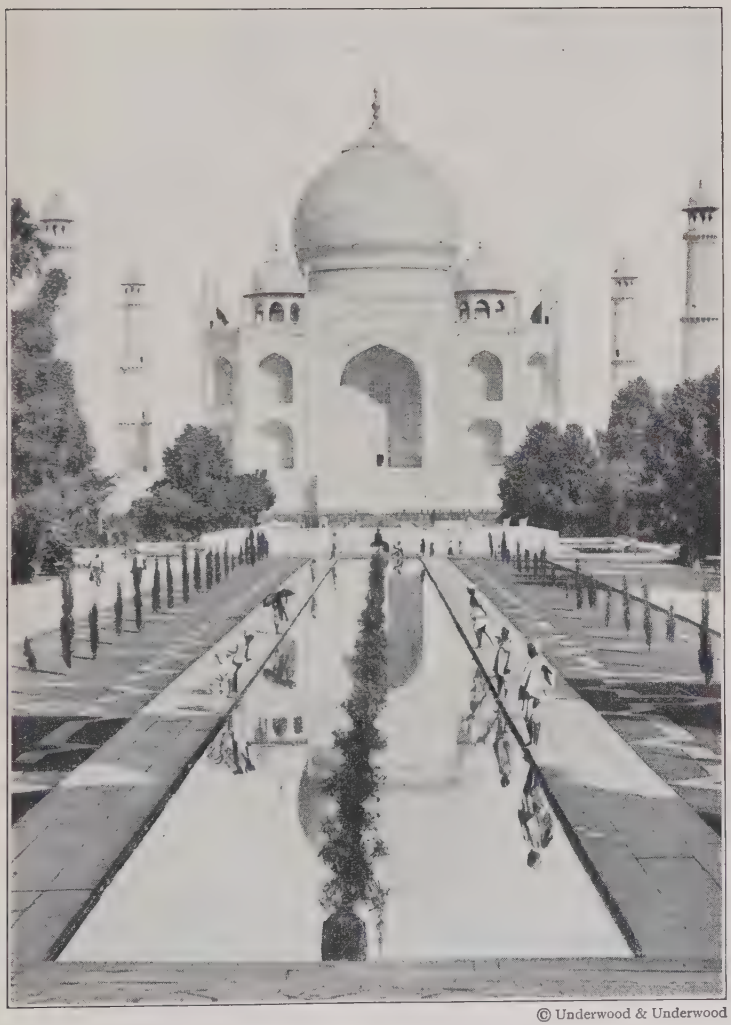
the Far East. Yet the two companies found it impossible to separate trade from empire-building.

236. The Weakness of Portugal's Eastern Possessions. Shortly after their first arrival in the East Indies a Dutch naval force invaded Philippine waters, inflicting serious damage upon the local inter-island trade; similar attacks were made at intervals during the next fifty years. Dutch privateers also made frequent visits to the Pacific coast of America, where they attacked Spanish shipping, sometimes capturing the great Manila galleon with its annual cargo of Eastern products. The Dutch and English invasion of the Far East fell with especial severity, however, upon the Portuguese. The Philippines lay well to the north of the other East Indian islands, while the comparatively small area of the Spanish possessions made it possible for Spain to defend them against attack. But the Portuguese were spread across the map of the Eastern world, from the entrance of the Red Sea to the Moluccas, more than six thousand miles away. In addition to being thus widely scattered, they were occupying the most advantageous points for trade with the peoples and nations of Asia, a fact that was bound to arouse the jealous hostility of both the Dutch and the English.

237. Attacks by the Dutch and English. The Portuguese commercial empire was therefore attacked all along the line by the newcomers. In 1602 the Dutch allied themselves with the king of Kandy (in Ceylon) to drive the Portuguese from that island; the following year saw Goa itself, the chief Portuguese stronghold, blockaded for several months by a powerful Dutch fleet. In 1605 the Portuguese trading post of Amboyna, in the Moluccas, was seized by the Hollanders, who made this, for several years, the headquarters of their Far Eastern trade. In 1619 the Dutch built the city of Batavia near the western end of the island of Java, making this new city the center of their activities. In 1641, twenty-two years after the founding of Batavia, the Dutch were able to

wrest from Portugal the great port of Malacca, which, for a hundred and thirty years, had been second only to Goa as a Portuguese commercial base. The English attacks upon the Portuguese position were chiefly directed at the western section of the far-flung line of trading posts; but here they were hardly less destructive than the Dutch attacks farther east. In 1611 the English defeated a Portuguese fleet off Cambay; in 1615 they gained an even more sweeping naval victory over the Portuguese in a battle off Surat. A few years later Mocha, at the entrance to the Red Sea, was seized by the English forces; in 1622 Ormuz, near the mouth of the Persian Gulf, was taken by the Persians and the English. The loss of these two important ports was a severe blow, since it deprived the Portuguese of their control over trade in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

238. Exhaustion and Decline of Portugal. Nor were the Dutch and the English the only enemies against whom the Portuguese were now compelled to defend themselves. As early as 1570 Goa had been attacked by the forces of Akbar, on which occasion only the desperate heroism of the Portuguese garrison had saved the city from falling into the hands of the Mogul conqueror. About the same time the growing hostility toward the Portuguese had resulted in similar attacks upon Malacca and other strongholds. Before the arrival of European enemies, however, the Portuguese had always been able to defend themselves. With the coming of the Dutch and English, the anti-Portuguese activities of the local rulers increased. In Ceylon and in the East Indies the Dutch made common cause with those who had come to hate the domination of Portugal, while the English adopted the same policy in India and in Persia. The result of the struggle was not long in doubt. Even in times of peace Portugal had been compelled to draw heavily upon her man power to maintain her vast empire; these constant wars against overwhelming odds soon resulted in complete exhaustion. In 1629 Shah Jehan, the grandson of Akbar, captured the city of Hugli and took a



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THE TAJ MAHAL AT AGRA, INDIA

Commenced in 1632 by the emperor Shah Jehan

thousand Portuguese prisoners, thus giving notice that the downfall of Portuguese power in India was at hand.[1]

239. The Commercial Mastery of the East falls to the Dutch and English. The capture of Malacca by the Dutch in 1641 practically marked the end of Portuguese power in the East. Some fragments of her former greatness still remained, but these fragments gradually fell from the grasp of the exhausted nation. Goa, Daman, and the island of Diu in India, Macao in China, and one half of the little island of Timor are all that remain today to remind us of the power which Portugal once enjoyed. From the capture of Malacca, the commercial mastery of the East lay between Holland and England.

QUESTIONS

I. For how long a period were Portugal and Spain without other European rivals in the Far East? Why did the Spanish not become commercial rivals of the Portuguese? How did Portugal get and maintain complete control over trade between Europe and the Far East? Why may Portugal at this time be compared to a great trading company? Describe the missionary work of the Portuguese; the relations of the Portuguese with Siam and Burma.

II. Trace the growth of Spanish power in the Philippines to 1576. What was the Manila galleon? What did Drake accomplish? Why did he not attempt to engage in trade in the East Indies? When were the crowns of Spain and Portugal united? Show how this affected Portugal, Holland, and England. When was the Dutch East India Company formed? the English East India Company? How did they differ from the Portuguese merchants?

III. What was the weakness of the Portuguese commercial empire? Where was it attacked by the Dutch? by the English? Who else joined with the Dutch and English in attacking the Portuguese? Point out on the map the present Portuguese possessions in the Far East.

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Discuss the ways in which the history of the Far East was affected during the sixteenth century by the international rivalries of Europe.

CHAPTER XIX

CHINA UNDER THE MING EMPERORS

1368.	First Ming emperor expels the Mongols from China
1368–1398.	Reign of Hung Wu
1402–1424.	Reign of Yung Lo
1405–1434.	Expeditions of Cheng Ho in the East Indies
1516.	Portuguese ships reach the coast of China
1557.	Portuguese allowed to settle at Macao
1584.	Matteo Ricci reaches Canton
1604.	First Dutch ships reach Macao
1637.	English attempt to open trade at Canton
1642.	The rebel Li Tze-ching proclaims himself emperor
1644.	China conquered by the Manchus

240. A National Dynasty for China. We have already seen in Chapter XI that the expulsion of Kublai Khan's successors from the Chinese Empire was accomplished by a popular revolt, and that the rebel leader established himself upon the imperial throne as the founder of a new dynasty, to which he gave the name "Tai Ming." Ever since the year 1127, when the Sung emperors were driven out of the regions lying north of the Yangtze River, part or all of the Chinese Empire had been under the domination of foreign rulers. But in 1368 the last Mongol forces were driven beyond the Great Wall, and China, for the first time in two and a half centuries, was reunited under a Chinese emperor. This new national dynasty was to rule the land for nearly three centuries; under its sway the Chinese Empire, except in military power, was to rival the greatness which it had attained during the Han and Tang periods.

241. Interruption of Intercourse with Europe. The rapid break-up of the Mongol power resulted in destroying the intercourse which, for more than a century, had existed between

Europe and the Chinese Empire. Western Asia quickly fell into great confusion; and the constant strife between warlike Tartar tribes made travel far less safe than it had been in the days when the authority of the Great Khan was acknowledged over all the region between Korea and the shores of the Black Sea. The sea route by which Marco Polo had returned to

China under the Mings

Europe after his long residence in China was still open; and it was still possible, of course, for Europeans to reach China by this road. But there were reasons why Europeans were not welcomed by the people and by the new rulers of the empire. The Europeans had begun to reach China during the days of Mongol supremacy, and the Mongol rulers, especially Kublai Khan, had shown them many favors. These "strangers from afar" were therefore closely identified with the Mongol conquerors and shared with the foreign dynasty the bitter dislike of the Chinese people. Even the Christian missions, which had

been widely established by John of Monte Corvino and his fellow workers, suffered from the fact that they had received favor and support from the Mongol emperors. When the Mongols were overthrown, the Christian religion became the object of widespread popular opposition; in a very short time, therefore, it completely disappeared. For the first century and a

A Portion of the Examination Halls, Nanking

Here, each locked in a narrow cell, the candidates for official post wrote their examination papers. This picture was taken from one of the several towers from which a strict watch was kept in order to prevent any outside assistance to the candidates

half of the Ming period, direct intercourse between China and Europe ceased to exist, and only a few European travelers succeeded in finding their way into the territories of the empire.

242. The Great Emperors of the Ming Dynasty. The power of the new dynasty was put upon a firm foundation by the wise statesmanship of two great emperors: Hung Wu (1368–1398) and his son Yung Lo (1402–1424).

Hung Wu, whose success as a rebel leader raised him to the imperial throne, began life as the son of a poor laborer; but neither his humble origin nor his lack of education could prevent him from becoming a successful general and a wise ruler. Throughout his long life he always retained his early simplicity of tastes and his deep sympathy with the people from whom he came, while, like all great rulers in history, he strove to give his country such a government that even the poorest subject would be protected in his rights. Fully appreciating the fact that the character of a government depends upon the character and ability of its subordinate officers, Hung Wu made every effort to secure well-qualified men to serve as his representatives throughout the empire. He restored the ancient system of civil-service examinations, so that all public officials, being familiar with the teaching of Confucius, would be guided in their actions by principles of justice and propriety. In order to prevent the evils of favoritism in local administration — perhaps, also, with the idea of drawing the different parts of the empire more closely together — he introduced the policy of appointing officials to positions outside the provinces in which they were born. Knowing that officials often try to hide unpleasant facts from the emperor, he issued a decree providing severe penalties for those who failed to report any disaster which occurred in their districts. In many of his wise decisions Hung Wu seems to have been guided by the advice of his empress, who, until her death in 1382, constantly exerted a gentle influence in favor of peace and justice.

Yung Lo, who came to the throne about four years after his father's death, was not the lawful successor but seized the throne by leading a revolt against his own nephew. Although he was usurper, Yung Lo soon showed himself to be such an able and energetic ruler that the Chinese have always regarded him as one of their greatest emperors. It was he, as we have seen (§ 137), who transferred the capital of the empire from

Nanking to Peking. The reasons for this step can easily be seen. Only from the north was China in danger of attack; Yung Lo wished to be located at a point where he could watch over the northern frontier and take measures to repel any threatened invasion by the Tartars. Although the rule of Yung Lo was not so mild as that of his father, he steadily improved the administration of justice and did much to correct various evils in local government.

243. China and her Neighbors. The Ming period in Chinese history was almost entirely free from wars of foreign conquest. The first Ming emperor, after driving the Mongols beyond the Great Wall, followed them into Manchuria in order to crush their military power, while Yung Lo carried on wars in Indo-China and in regions outside China's western frontier. But even Yung Lo, who was the most warlike monarch of the dynasty, was usually willing to live in peace with his neighbors and to devote his energies to the problems of internal government. China therefore enjoyed, during the greater part of this period, the friendship and respect of the other countries in the Far East.

We have already seen (§ 194) how China's prestige was established throughout the Malay world by the expeditions under Cheng Ho. After 1415, Cheng Ho's expeditions lost much of their warlike character; from this time, Yung Lo and his successors were willing to depend upon peaceful embassies to maintain their influence. Envoys were sent to Java, to Sumatra, and to various parts of Indo-China. These states, as well as Korea and the Lu-chu Islands, sent their tribute-bearing embassies at regular intervals to the Chinese court. Even the Japanese, although some of their lawless countrymen frequently indulged in piratical attacks upon the coast of China, were glad to renew the commercial relations which had been interrupted by the aggressive foreign policy of Kublai Khan. Only from one direction was the peace of China seriously threatened: in the north, the region from

which the empire had been so often invaded during past ages, the warlike Tartar tribes soon were gathering strength for a fresh attack upon the prosperous lands south of the Great Wall.

244. Good Government under the Mings. Since the Ming emperors were content to follow a purely defensive policy upon the frontiers, they were able to devote their energies to domestic affairs. In this field much was done to foster the welfare of the Chinese people. Imperial commissioners were appointed to inspect and to improve the waterways throughout the empire; reservoirs and irrigation canals were maintained to provide adequate supplies of water in times of drought, while river channels were dredged and dikes were built to guard against the danger of floods. Public granaries were established in all parts of the country, in order to insure a food reserve in case of poor crops. Taxes were revised downward, and the actual burden of taxation was further reduced by employing the army to transport the "tribute rice" from the provinces to the capital. The need for an abundant supply of currency was met by the continued use of paper money, a thing which had impressed Marco Polo as such a wonderful device; and the value of these government bank notes was maintained by the provision that seventy per cent of all taxes might be paid in paper money.

245. Prosperity and Culture of Fifteenth-Century China. The dredging of the rivers, undertaken primarily as a measure to prevent floods, greatly improved internal transportation. Trade flowed easily between the different parts of the provinces along the coast, and this increase of domestic trade was accompanied by an increase in China's foreign commerce. Arab traders were welcomed at Canton and at the other seaports, while the merchant ships of China frequented the East Indies and the coasts of Indo-China. At peace with their neighbors and enjoying good government at home, the Chinese now entered upon an era of prosperity such as probably had

never been surpassed in their history. Art and architecture flourished as in the great days of Han and Tang. A number of China's greatest painters arose to produce pictures rivaling those of contemporary Italy, while splendid buildings were erected at Nanking, at Peking, and in other parts of the country. The same artistic spirit appeared in many of the

A Chinese Bridge

China is remarkable for its great number of beautiful bridges. The bridge in the picture is located not far from Nanking and spans one of the many canals which intersect the Yangtze delta region

country's industries, the bronze vases and the porcelains of the Ming dynasty being especially famous for their graceful shapes and their beautiful workmanship. Although the European Renaissance had been in progress for more than a hundred years, China at the end of the fifteenth century was still far ahead of Europe in wealth, industry, and culture.

246. Arrival of the Portuguese in China. As a result of Albuquerque's courtesy toward the Chinese at Malacca (§ 213), good reports concerning the Portuguese had been carried back

to China; when the first Portuguese ships reached Canton, in 1516, they were therefore favorably received and had no difficulty in exchanging their cargoes for Chinese goods. The following year four Portuguese ships reached the coast of China bearing an envoy from the viceroy at Goa, and two of the ships, with the envoy, were allowed to proceed to Canton.

THE MARBLE PAILOW AT THE MING TOMBS

In a quiet valley north of Peking there stand the tombs of Yung Lo and his twelve successors to the throne. The splendid Pailow shown in the picture marks the entrance to the "Holy Way" leading to the tombs

The Arab merchants at Canton, who were bitter against the Portuguese because of their seizure of Malacca, tried to convince the Chinese officials that the newcomers were barbarian pirates, but the Portuguese behaved so politely that their envoy, Thomé Pires, obtained permission to visit Peking. The good behavior of the first Portuguese was not imitated by those of their countrymen who later reached the coast of China. Shortly after Pires received word that he might pro-

ceed to Peking, a number of Portuguese ships under Simon Andrade arrived at San Chuan, an island not far from Canton. Andrade soon began to act in a very high-handed manner. He landed forces on the island, erected a fort, and attempted to exercise jurisdiction over the people. The Chinese viceroy at Canton therefore sent an expedition against the invader, who was eventually forced to withdraw.

247. Resentment of Portuguese Methods. This violation of China's sovereign rights was very disastrous for Pires. On his arrival at Peking, in January, 1521, he was seized as a spy; the following year he was sent back in chains to Canton, where he died in 1523. For nearly thirty years the Portuguese continued their attempts to establish themselves on the coast of China by the methods which had been so successful in India and at Malacca. Fortified posts were built at Amoy, Ningpo, and Foochow as bases for Portuguese trade. Commercial towns grew up at these places, and the Portuguese proceeded to treat the people in these regions as conquered people. As usual, the Chinese government was slow in taking measures against the troublesome outsiders; but in 1545 an expedition was finally sent against them, and the Portuguese were driven with great slaughter from all three places.

248. Macao. The strong measures taken by the imperial government convinced the Portuguese that it was hardly possible to treat China in the same manner as they had treated disunited India. The few survivors from the destroyed settlements took refuge on a small island at the mouth of the Canton River, and the Portuguese now endeavored to win favor with the Chinese by assisting them in their wars against piracy. As a result of this new policy, they received permission, in 1557, to erect some buildings upon the neighboring peninsula of Macao, which gradually grew into an important trading post. The Chinese authorities, who now had good reason for believing the Arab assertion that the Portuguese were turbulent barbarians, exercised careful oversight over the new settlement.

249. Regulation of Foreigners. Trade between Macao and the neighboring port of Canton was strictly regulated; the Portuguese were forbidden to erect any buildings until they had obtained official permission to do so; and great care was taken to prevent any assumption of foreign jurisdiction over Chinese residing at Macao. Following the principles which the Tang dynasty had adopted in its dealings with foreign merchants residing in China, the Chinese government allowed the Portuguese to settle their private disputes according to their own laws; but all criminal cases, or cases involving the interests of Chinese subjects, were brought before Chinese judges and settled according to Chinese law.

250. Reintroduction of Christianity. The first attempts to reintroduce Christianity into China were made about thirty-five years after the Portuguese began to arrive at Canton. In 1552 St. Francis Xavier, who had already spent a number of years as a missionary in Japan (§ 276), arrived at San Chuan Island with the purpose of undertaking missionary work among the Chinese. As only a few years had elapsed since the Chinese emperor had been compelled to send his army and navy against the Portuguese settlements at Amoy, Ningpo, and Foochow, the officials were under strict orders to prohibit any Portuguese from landing in the country. Xavier, who was ill when he reached San Chuan, died a few months later without being permitted to set foot upon the mainland. During the same year a Dominican friar succeeded in entering China, where he immediately began preaching the gospel; but he was soon arrested and expelled from the country. Spanish missionaries from the Philippines attempted to enter China in 1575, but were compelled to return to Manila. After the Portuguese had received permission to establish their settlement at Macao, the door became partly open to the entrance of missionaries. In 1584 two Jesuit priests, one of them the famous Matteo Ricci, succeeded in reaching Canton, where they disguised themselves as Buddhist students and remained for

several years, perfecting their knowledge of the Chinese language and winning a reputation as scientists. After several years at Canton, Ricci threw off his Buddhist disguise and adopted the costume of a Confucian scholar. From Canton Ricci now proceeded northward, first to the Yangtze valley and then to Peking, where, in 1601, he was actually received in an audience by the Ming emperor Wan Li.

251. Ricci and his Successors at Peking. Ricci was a brilliant scholar and a man of great tact. Moreover, he had become such a master of the Chinese language that he was able to converse with the educated Chinese about their own Confucian Classics, as well as about the science of the West. He was therefore able to win respect and toleration for himself and for his religious ideas. This toleration at Peking made it possible for Ricci's fellow missionaries to carry on their teaching in the provinces, and Christianity soon obtained throughout the empire a stronger position than the one which it had lost with the overthrow of the Mongols. After the death of Ricci, in 1610, other able members of the Jesuit order succeeded in retaining the continued good will of the Chinese emperors and their officials. About twenty years after Ricci's death another Jesuit, Adam Schaal, rose to be even more influential than Ricci had been. Schaal and a fellow Jesuit were appointed members of the Board of Astronomy; in this post Schaal served with such distinction that, after the fall of the Ming dynasty, he was reappointed to the same position by the Manchu government.

252. The Dutch at Canton and Formosa. When the Dutch reached the Far East they lost little time in following their Portuguese rivals to the coast of China. In 1604 three ships of the Dutch East India Company arrived at Macao, where they requested permission to trade. The Chinese officials at Macao, who had begun to regard all new arrivals with suspicion, were informed by the Portuguese that the Dutch were a nation of ferocious pirates, so the permission was not granted.

Eighteen years later, after the Dutch had established their new headquarters at Batavia, a fleet was sent to Macao with instructions to open trade there by force, if force was necessary. Without attempting to negotiate, the commander of the fleet landed a strong body of troops for an immediate attack upon Macao. The attack was a disastrous failure, and the Portuguese, aided by Chinese forces, drove the Dutch back to their ships with heavy losses. Repulsed in their attempt upon Macao, the Dutch proceeded northeastward to the Pescadores Islands, the group of small islands lying between Formosa and the coast of Fukien province, where they established a trading post. A few years later the Dutch gained a foothold upon the large island of Formosa. In 1630 a settlement was made at Tai-wan, on the west coast of the island, where Fort Zelandia was erected; other settlements were made at Kelung, on the northern coast, and at other points. Formosa was favorably situated for trade with Japan, as well as with the coast of China, and the Dutch remained in control of the island until 1662, when they were driven out by the "pirate-patriot" Koxinga (§ 321).

253. Early English Efforts to open Trade. The English East India Company was far behind its Dutch rival in its attempts to open trade with China. In 1623 some of the company's representatives in the East were strongly in favor of securing a position in Formosa, which would make it possible to control all trade between China and Japan; but the directors in England objected to the proposal. In 1637 several English ships, under the command of Captain Weddell, arrived at Canton, being the first English ships to attempt to open trade with China. Although Captain Weddell had stopped at Goa and had received from the Portuguese viceroy formal permission to trade at Macao, the Portuguese merchants at that port did everything in their power to cause trouble between the local officials and the English. Irritated at the long delay in obtaining the necessary permit from the

Chinese officials, the English captain sent two of his small boats to explore the channel to Canton, with the result that the local authorities became firmly convinced of his hostile intentions. A few days later a clash occurred, apparently by accident, between the English ships and one of the forts guarding the river; the fort was bombarded and stormed, and the ships proceeded up to Canton, where they were allowed to exchange their cargoes for sugar, ginger, and other Chinese commodities. Following this stormy episode the English made one or two half-hearted attempts to open trade, but it was not until 1670, twenty-six years after the downfall of the Ming dynasty, that the English company actually secured a share in the commerce of China.

254. The Rise of the Manchus. Throughout the entire period of the Ming rule in China, the Tartar peoples north of the Great Wall were a constant source of anxiety to the empire. The early Ming emperors had established their authority over the southern portions of the great region now known as Manchuria, but since the Mings were not fond of war, no attempt was made to conquer the entire region. During the latter part of the sixteenth century a strong tribe, known as the Manchus, began to gain supremacy over its neighbors in the vicinity of the Amur River. The Manchus appear to have been a remnant of the "Kin" Tartars who had given China so much trouble in the days of the Sung dynasty. From their Kin ancestors they had received a certain amount of Chinese civilization, which steadily increased as a result of commerce which they carried on with peoples living nearer the frontiers of the empire. After bringing all the northern part of Manchuria under their domination, the Manchus began to expand toward the south and soon came into conflict with the peoples who acknowledged the rule of the Chinese emperor. These peoples appealed to Peking for aid against the aggressors; and the Chinese government responded by sending armies which, although they failed to check the progress of the

Manchus, served to arouse in their leader a feeling of bitter hatred toward the rulers of China.

255. The Beginning of War with the Manchus. In 1618 the Manchu leader, Nurhachu, drew up a list of grievances against the Mings and issued a formal declaration of war. Nurhachu soon succeeded in conquering all the Ming allies in Manchuria and in overrunning all Chinese territory outside the Great Wall, but this massive barricade and the line of strongly fortified cities continued to block his triumphant progress. In 1620 Nurhachu died and was succeeded by his son Taitsung, who, shortly after his succession, assumed the imperial title and gave to this newly established dynasty the name "Tai Tsing" ("Great Pure"). The Korean king, faithful in his allegiance to the Ming emperor, had been giving considerable aid to the Chinese; but in 1627 the Manchus invaded Korea and forced the king to become a vassal of the newly created emperor at Mukden. Despite these successes outside the Great Wall, and despite the nonmilitary character of the Chinese, the Manchus were still unable to gain a firm foothold inside the territories of the empire. Although Peking was torn by political discord and intrigue, a strong Chinese army held the pass at Shanhaikwan, China's Thermopylæ.[1]

256. The Rebellion of Li Tze-ching. As early as 1621, however, popular disturbances in various parts of the empire began to show that the Ming government was losing the respect and support of the nation. These disturbances, which first appeared in the districts at a distance from Peking, steadily increased and spread toward the capital. The long and costly struggle against the Manchus, the destruction of property by the Manchu raids into the northern provinces, and severe droughts in a number of districts all caused widespread suffering and discontent. Brigand leaders, recruiting their forces from the thousands of desperate, homeless men,

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, p. 40. Ginn and Company, 1924.

The Avenue of Stone Figures

A Memorial Arch

On the Way to the Ming Tombs

were able to become actual rulers over large areas, while the authorities at Peking, occupied with the war against the Manchus, dared not withdraw troops from the northern frontier to deal with these marauders.

The most powerful of these robber chieftains was a man named Li Tze-ching, who gradually extended his power over the entire province of Honan south of the Yellow River. In 1642 Li Tze-ching invaded the adjoining province of Shensi. At Si-an-fu, the old Tang capital of the empire, Li proclaimed himself emperor of China and declared that the Mings, by their corruption, had proved themselves totally unfit to hold the power. Unable to decide whether to retreat southward to Nanking or to summon his army from the frontier, the emperor hesitated until it was too late for either step. Peking was captured without a struggle, the emperor committed suicide, and Li Tze-ching established himself for a brief period upon the imperial throne.

257. Wu San-kwei and the Manchus. At this time the imperial army at Shanhaikwan was under the command of an able general named Wu San-kwei. For a while Wu San-kwei was uncertain as to what he should do, but he finally decided to call upon the Manchus for assistance in driving the usurper from the throne. With this assistance Wu succeeded in defeating the rebel army; Li Tze-ching retreated from Peking into the western provinces, where he was finally captured and put to death. Although the Manchus were quite willing to assist Wu San-kwei against the rebel leader, they had no intention of restoring the Mings to their lost throne. As soon as they secured possession of Peking and a part of north China, they transferred their capital from Mukden to Peking. The young Manchu ruler was proclaimed emperor of China, as the first monarch of the Tai Tsing dynasty, and the forces of the invaders proceeded to the gradual conquest of the empire. Convinced of the hopelessness of the Ming cause, Wu San-kwei now definitely allied himself with the Manchus, to whom

he rendered valuable service by bringing about the peaceful submission of the western and southwestern provinces.[1] The Manchus rewarded him for his services by appointing him to rule as viceroy over the provinces which he succeeded in pacifying.

258. Completion of the Manchu Conquest (1644–1650). For a while the adherents of the Mings maintained a resistance

GATE OF HEAVENLY PEACE

The main entrance to the Forbidden City. Here, in the center of Peking, the Manchu emperors established themselves after the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644

against the southward advance of the invaders. Six Ming emperors followed each other in rapid succession, first at Nanking and later at Hangchow; but province after province submitted to the Manchu sway, and the last Ming emperor was finally compelled to seek refuge with the king of Burma.

[1] For taking service under the Manchus in this manner Wu San-kwei has always been regarded by the Chinese as one of the great traitors in the history of the country.

In 1650 the city of Canton was taken by the Manchus, and the conquest of China may be regarded as complete. The loyal supporters of the old dynasty still continued the war upon the sea, but on land the rule of the Manchus was accepted.

The rapidity with which the Manchus succeeded in establishing their control over the empire was partly a result of their policy of employing Wu San-kwei and other Chinese officers as their representatives in many of the more difficult regions. Much more important, however, was their conciliatory attitude with regard to the maintenance of the old traditional methods of government. No changes were made in the fundamental laws of the land. No increase was made in the light taxation imposed upon the people. The old system of official examinations was maintained, and the majority of even the highest provincial offices continued to be filled by Chinese officers. In the great administrative boards at Peking, equality between Chinese and Manchus was carefully maintained. As far as the people of the country were concerned, two facts alone gave evidence that there had been a change of rulers: the wearing of the queue was imposed as a symbol of submission, and Manchu troops were stationed at a number of important cities as a precaution against any attempted rebellion.

After nearly three centuries of good government the Ming dynasty was overthrown even more quickly than the founder of the line had overthrown the Mongols. Few of the Ming emperors were bad rulers; most of them were unusually able men who strove to secure the welfare of their people. In view of the generally good character of the Ming rulers, the reason for the sudden downfall of the dynasty may, perhaps, be found in their failure to recognize that the tribes of the north were not inspired by the same pacific ideals as the people of China. But the wisdom and soundness of their government in internal affairs are proved by the prosperity which the country enjoyed during their rule, and by the fact that the new dynasty

was able to govern the empire with hardly a single change in the administrative machinery which the Mings had organized.

QUESTIONS

I. When was the Ming dynasty established in China? Why was the establishment of the new dynasty followed by the interruption of intercourse with Europe? Describe the government of Hung Wu. How did the policy of the Ming rulers affect the relations between China and her Far Eastern neighbors? Tell of the measures taken to increase the material prosperity of China. How do you explain the artistic and cultural development of China under the Mings?

II. Describe the conduct of the Portuguese in China. Why were the Portuguese unable to use successfully in China the same methods that they had employed in India? Locate Macao. Why was it a good place for a trading post? What restrictions did the Chinese place upon the Portuguese at Macao? What do you know about Ricci? Tell of the Dutch attempts to open trade with China; of the English attempts.

III. Who were the Manchus? Describe the growth of their power. How were the Manchus able to gain a foothold in North China? Why were they able to extend their power so rapidly over the whole empire?

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

Were the Ming emperors justified in their attempts to control European merchants and missionaries?

Would China have been more or less prosperous in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries if her government had been more militaristic?

If Wu San-kwei were alive today, what part do you think he would now play in Chinese politics?

REFERENCES

Books listed under Chapters II and VI.

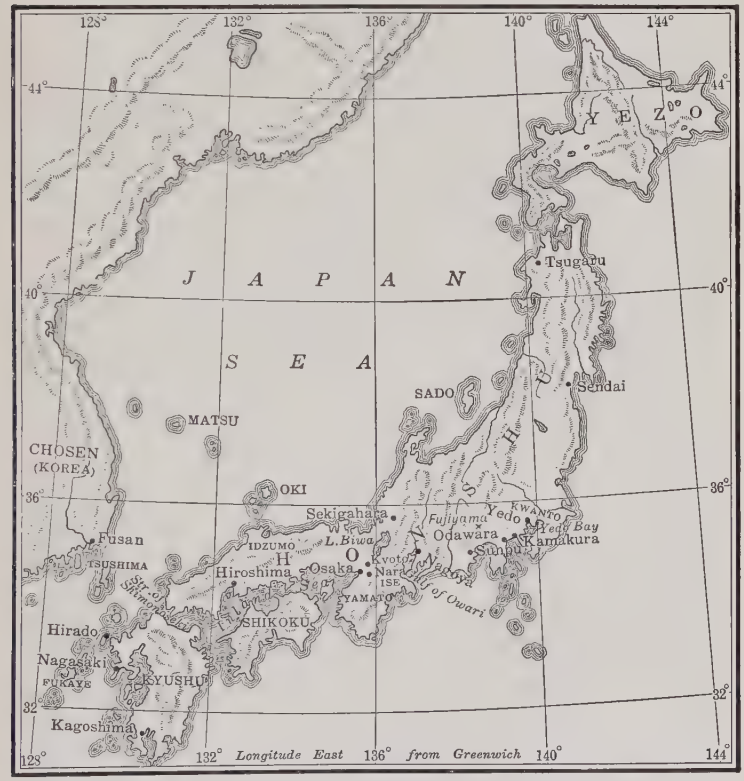
CHAPTER XX

JAPAN, OPEN AND CLOSED, FROM THE FALL OF THE KAMAKURA SHOGUNATE TO THE BEGINNING OF THE TOKUGAWA SECLUSION

1333.	The Kamakura Shogunate overthrown by Daigo II
1338–1575.	Japan under the Ashikaga Shogunate
1336–1392.	The War of Succession
1467.	Beginning of "Epoch of the Warring Country"
1542.	The Portuguese reach Japan
1549.	St. Francis Xavier and introduction of Christianity
1568.	Nobunaga begins the unification of Japan
1587.	Hideyoshi issues the first decree against Christianity
1590.	Unification of Japan completed by Hideyoshi
1592–1598.	The Korean War
1597.	First Christian martyrs of Japan
1603.	Iyeyasu becomes Shogun; beginning of the Tokugawa Shogunate
1622.	The Shoguns begin to exterminate Christianity
1641.	Japan closed to all Europeans except the Dutch

259. Decline of the Kamakura Shogunate. We have already seen (§ 92) how Yoritomo established at Kamakura a military organization, known as the Shogunate, which actually exercised supreme power in the government of the Japanese Empire. Although Yoritomo's successors soon became mere figureheads in the hands of a group of subordinate officials, the Shogunate gave the country a long period of honest and efficient government. In 1274 and in 1281 the military discipline maintained by the Shogunate had enabled the Japanese to repel the expeditions of Kublai Khan (§ 130). The half century which followed the repulse of the Mongols, however, saw a gradual decline in the power of the administration at Kamakura. The simple military life of the early Kamakura period, which had been strictly enforced by Yoritomo and his first successors, had gradually given way to more luxurious

standards of living introduced from Kyoto, while jealousy and intrigue were taking the place of the earlier harmony among the officials of the Shogunate. At the same time the



JAPAN AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TOKUGAWA PERIOD

Shogun's vassals in all parts of the country were becoming bankrupt, through their extravagances, and were beginning to long for a civil war which would enable them to acquire fresh possessions by conquest. The long decline of the Kamakura administration ended with its overthrow by Emperor Daigo II (1319–1338). Discovering that Daigo was planning

to make himself the real ruler of the empire, the Shogun's officials attempted, in 1332, to drive him from the throne. The Kamakura forces entered Kyoto and sent the emperor into exile on the little island of Oki; but Daigo soon succeeded in escaping from Oki and returned to the capital, where he secured the assistance of a discontented Kamakura general, Ashikaga Takauji. In July, 1333, the imperial army defeated the Shogun's forces, the city of Kamakura was destroyed, and the Shogunate was overthrown.

260. A New Shogunate. Daigo II had hoped that the destruction of the Kamakura Shogunate would leave him complete master of the empire, but he quickly discovered his mistake. The civilian government which he attempted to organize at Kyoto was soon torn by the old intrigues between rival official cliques, while the military leaders who had aided him against the Shogunate were demanding satisfactory rewards for their services. The Daimyos of the Kwanto [1] broke out in revolt, and Ashikaga Takauji, whom the emperor sent to restore order in these provinces, merely utilized his appointment as a means of putting himself at the head of the discontented Daimyos. Returning to Kyoto in July, 1336, Takauji forced Daigo to take refuge in the mountainous district south of the capital. A new emperor was placed upon the throne, and in 1338 Takauji was appointed Shogun — the first of the new Ashikaga Shogunate, which was to continue for two hundred and thirty-five years.

261. The Rule of the Ashikagas (1338–1575). For more than two hundred years the Ashikaga Shogunate was contemporaneous with the Chinese Ming dynasty; but during these two centuries the internal conditions of the two empires were totally different. China, under the Ming emperors, enjoyed a long period of almost unbroken peace; in Japan, on the other hand, the Ashikaga Shogunate was a period of practically uninterrupted civil war.

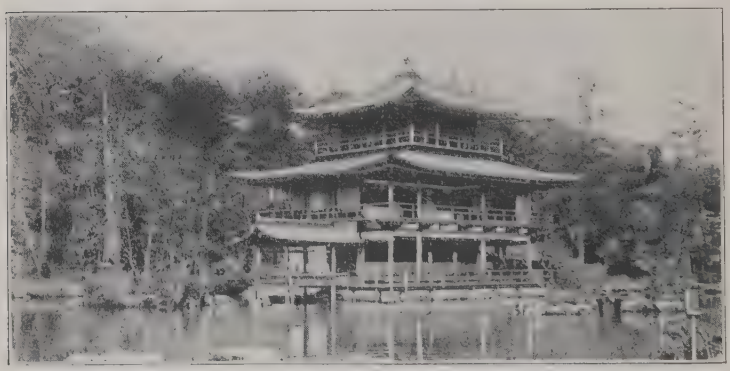
[1] The district around Tokyo Bay; see § 90.

262. The War of Succession (1336–1392). The civil wars began with what is known as the War of Succession. When Daigo fled from the capital, the Ashikaga chief, as we have seen, placed another emperor upon the vacant throne; Daigo continued, however, to claim the imperial title, and his claim was supported by all those who hated the Ashikagas. The struggle between the two rival courts continued for fifty-six years, from 1336 until 1392. Taking sides with one or the other of the two emperors, the Daimyos throughout the empire proceeded to invade and conquer the lands of their neighbors. In order to avoid attack by their stronger neighbors, or to have an excuse for attacking their weaker ones, these local rulers changed sides with such bewildering rapidity that the period has been called the "Age of Turncoats." In 1392 the last of the "Southern" emperors, the successors of Daigo II, made peace with the Kyoto government, and the War of Succession came to an end; but the feudal lords in the districts far from the capital continued the many private feuds which had originated during the disputed succession.

263. Relations with China and Korea. During the Shogunate of the third Ashikaga Shogun, Yoshimitsu (1367–1395), important changes in China and in Korea made it possible for the Japanese to resume the friendly relations which had been disturbed by the Mongol conquests on the continent. In 1368 Hung Wu expelled the Mongol rulers from China and established the Ming dynasty, while in 1392 Yi Tai-jo overthrew the old Korean dynasty and ascended the throne as the first monarch of a new line.

Yoshimitsu was very anxious to establish commercial relations with China because of the profits which the trade would bring to the imperial treasury. His counselors, who were drawn from the "Zen" sect of Buddhists, were also strongly in favor of renewing friendly relations with the Chinese Empire. Zen Buddhism was Chinese in origin, and the Zen Buddhists of Japan, who owed much of their importance to their Chinese

scholarship, were anxious to keep in touch with the great monastic schools of the Zen order in China. For these reasons Yoshimitsu exerted himself to win the good will of the Ming government. In response to Hung Wu's complaints against Japanese pirates who had been plundering the coast of China, the Shogun arrested a number of the principal offenders and handed them over to the Chinese for punishment. He also adopted the Chinese calendar, acknowledged himself to be a vassal of the Ming emperor, and accepted from Hung Wu



The Kinkakuji, Kyoto
Erected by the Shogun Yoshimitsu

formal investiture as "King of Japan." Yoshimitsu has been bitterly denounced by patriotic Japanese writers for his subservient attitude toward China, but the friendly relations which he reëstablished continued throughout the entire Ashikaga period.

Intercourse between Japan and Korea was reopened by the action of the new Korean government. In 1392, the year in which he ascended the throne, Yi Tai-jo sent envoys to Kyoto, where Yoshimitsu gladly seized the opportunity of entering into commercial and diplomatic relations. In 1420, as reprisal for raids which Japanese pirates were making upon the Korean coast, a Korean fleet attacked the Japanese island of Tsushima.

The dispute between the two countries was soon adjusted, and the Japanese, in addition to sending ships to Korea, received permission to reside at three Korean ports. Except for this short interruption and a similar break in the sixteenth century, intercourse between Japan and Korea continued to be friendly until 1592, when Hideyoshi undertook the conquest of the peninsula.

264. Luxury and Suffering. During a considerable part of the Ashikaga Shogunate, especially under Yoshimitsu and his immediate successors, the Japanese capital witnessed a great revival of literature and art. The influence of the Zen Buddhists and the renewal of intercourse with China resulted in a fresh interest in Chinese culture. Chinese painting, Chinese poetry, Chinese architecture, and Chinese philosophy were all studied and imitated, while even the military leaders of Japan began to study Chinese treatises on war in order to perfect themselves in tactics and strategy. In luxury and extravagance Kyoto at this time surpassed even the standards which had been set up during the days of the Fujiwara rule. The Shoguns themselves often set an example in wasteful expenditure. The Kinkakuji, or "Golden Pavilion," which is still one of the most delightful spots in the vicinity of the capital, was erected at great cost by Yoshimitsu, while his grandson, Yoshimasa, built an equally splendid pavilion which he called the Ginkakuji, or "Silver Pavilion." These two beautiful buildings bear witness to the art of the period; but they also testify to the wide difference between the Ashikaga Shoguns and the first Shoguns at Kamakura.

In contrast to the luxury and splendor of the capital, conditions in the provinces were probably worse than they had ever been at any other time in the history of the country. The unceasing private wars were marked by such treachery and cruelty that no man knew whom to trust. The peasants were crushed under a load of taxes which, in one form or another, often took from them the equivalent of seventy per cent of

their crops. Added to this burden of taxation there was the constant danger that war would sweep over their community, taking away their few remaining possessions and leaving their rude homes in ruins.

265. The Warring Country. By 1467 the authority of the central administration had almost ceased to exist outside the districts immediately around the capital. In that year a new and more general war broke out between powerful groups of Daimyos, and all pretense of a central government was abandoned. Recognizing the fact that no one paid the slightest attention to decrees or instructions, the Shoguns even ceased to send out commands to their vassals. Japan now entered upon the period known in her history as the "Epoch of the Warring Country." Throughout the empire the warrior was supreme, and, although the great mass of the peasants continued patiently to till the soil, thousands of their number took up arms and sought an easier livelihood by becoming soldiers in the service of some powerful Daimyo. Instead of lasting for a brief thirty years, like the Wars of the Roses (1455–1485),[1] which had started a few years earlier in England, this struggle stretched out over a full century before any sign of its end appeared. In England at this time there were two rival parties striving to gain control over the crown; but in Japan, where the central

THE GINKAKUJI, KYOTO

Erected by Yoshimasa, the grandson of Yoshimitsu, in an effort to surpass the Kinkakuji

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, § 330. Ginn and Company, 1924.

government had become an object of contempt, each separate Daimyo was fighting merely to extend his own possessions or to prevent his lands from being annexed to the domain of some powerful neighbor.

266. Arrival of the Portuguese (1542). Conditions in Japan were at their worst when, in 1542, the first Portuguese reached the port of Kagoshima, at the southern extremity of Kyushu. The newcomers came for trade, bringing with them Chinese silks, spices from the East Indies, and a few European products. All these articles found a ready market with the Japanese; but the Daimyo of Satsuma, within whose territories Kagoshima was located, was particularly impressed and pleased with the weapons of the foreign visitors. Firearms were absolutely unknown to the Japanese before this time, and the lord of Satsuma was quick to appreciate their superiority to the bow and arrow. Realizing the great military advantage which he would have over his neighbors if his troops alone were armed with these superior weapons, he eagerly encouraged the Portuguese to continue their trade at Kagoshima and endeavored to discourage their visiting the ports of his rivals. But Satsuma offered few products to tempt the Portuguese merchants, while the more northern provinces of Kyushu were rich in the attractions which Kagoshima lacked. Soon, therefore, the Portuguese were carrying their silks, their spices, and their highly desirable instruments of warfare to the northern ports; and the Satsuma Daimyo's earlier friendship for the Europeans gave way to a feeling of bitter anti-foreignism. For just fifty years the Portuguese were without European rivals in the Japanese trade. It was not until 1592 that the Spaniards from Manila made their first effort to develop commercial relations with Japan; and the Dutch and English did not arrive until several years later. During this half century, however, the Portuguese confined their activities to the ports of Kyushu, making little effort to trade with the central or western districts of the empire.

267. Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Iyeyasu. Although the Portuguese reached Japan at a time when the country was in the worst stage of disorder and confusion, the year of their arrival (1542) saw the birth of the youngest of three great leaders who were destined to end the disorder and to reunite the empire under a strong government.

Oda Nobunaga, the oldest of the three, was born in 1533 and was therefore nine years old when the first Europeans reached Japan. The Oda family was descended from the Taira clan, and Nobunaga's father was a petty Daimyo in the province of Owari. In 1549 Nobunaga succeeded to his father's fief. All around him were powerful neighbors, and it seemed probable that the young Daimyo would soon be robbed of his small possessions; but he showed, by his choice of capable advisers, that he had a wise head on his young shoulders, and that he was well able to hold what his father had left to him.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi, three years younger than Nobunaga, was the son of a peasant. Scarcely five feet tall, and with a face like an ape, Hideyoshi was endowed with an intelligence which made him one of the most able statesmen in Japanese history. In 1558 Hideyoshi, who was then twenty-two years old, attached himself to Nobunaga. Tradition says that the shrewd little peasant had made a tour, carefully studying the characters of different Daimyos, after which he selected Nobunaga as the one most likely to succeed — and therefore most worthy of his services. Whatever may be the truth of this story, the rapid rise of Nobunaga began in the same year that saw Hideyoshi added to his group of advisers.

Tokugawa Iyeyasu, born in 1542, was descended from the Minamoto clan. This was an important fact, for the office of Shogun was restricted to members of that clan, and Iyeyasu was therefore the only one of the three who could lawfully aspire to the Shogunate. Less brilliant than Hideyoshi, Iyeyasu possessed a high degree of political ability, while he was quite equal to either of his great contemporaries in military

skill. Having been offended by his Kwanto overlord, Iyeyasu in 1560 formed an offensive and defensive alliance with Nobunaga, who by that time had extended his authority over the entire province of Owari.

268. The Rise of Nobunaga. On becoming the master of Owari, Nobunaga definitely identified himself with the side of the central government. In 1561 he visited Kyoto and secured the Shogun's approval of his conquests; after which he proceeded to extend his conquests into the neighboring provinces. In 1565 the Shogun was assassinated by two disloyal ministers, who put a three-year-old child in the office as their puppet. Nobunaga immediately took up arms against the assassins; three years later he was able to install the younger brother of the late Shogun in the Shogunate and to secure for himself appointment to the post of Vice Shogun.

Although nominally a mere subordinate of the Shogun, Nobunaga was now the actual head of the central government, which under his leadership began to assume fresh vigor in its dealings with the feudal lords. Aided by the coöperation of Iyeyasu in the Kwanto, the Vice Shogun broke the military power of one Daimyo after another. The nobles whom he defeated were ruthlessly put to death, and their fiefs were bestowed upon men whose loyalty could be trusted. By 1582, the date of Nobunaga's death, nearly one third of the country had been compelled to recognize the authority of Kyoto: a start had been made in the unification of the empire.

269. Hideyoshi. There was much still to be done, however, before the country could be reunited under a strong centralized government; the task of completing this work fell to Hideyoshi, the shrewd little peasant who had attached himself to Nobunaga twenty-four years earlier. Nobunaga had been a soldier, not a statesman; he won his battles by good generalship and hard fighting, and he endeavored to consolidate his conquests by the simple plan of executing all the defeated leaders who fell into his hands. As a soldier, Hideyoshi was

scarcely, if at all, inferior to his former chief; but in addition to this he was one of the cleverest statesmen of the sixteenth century — in Japan or in any other country. Where fighting was necessary, Hideyoshi fought, usually with brilliant success; but he seldom resorted to war if peaceful diplomacy could be used to attain his purpose. Hideyoshi understood, moreover, the art of utilizing his defeated enemies. Unlike his predecessor, he almost always spared the lives of his opponents, either restoring them to their former possessions or transferring them to new fiefs where they would have little opportunity to make further trouble for him. On a few occasions this conciliatory policy proved to be unsuccessful, but many of Hideyoshi's former enemies were thus transformed into loyal supporters. By 1585, three years after the death of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi had succeeded in extending his authority over all Japan except Kyushu and the eastern portions of the main island. In 1587 a vigorous campaign, combined with a considerable amount of wise conciliation, brought about the submission of Kyushu. Three years later he brought the Kwanto and the northeastern provinces under his sway, and the unification of the empire was complete.

270. The Korean War. After eight years of diplomacy and war Hideyoshi had brought all parts of the Japanese Empire under his control. But now he was faced with a difficult problem: if all the Daimyos submitted to his rule, how could he employ his soldiers, or how find territories with which to reward his loyal followers? In all countries and in all ages governments have attempted to quiet popular unrest, or to employ the energies of a dangerous military class, by embarking upon wars of foreign conquest; Hideyoshi undertook to solve his problem by the invasion and conquest of Korea. Hideyoshi's determination to invade Korea was not adopted on the spur of the moment. As early as 1578 he had suggested this to Nobunaga as the step which should be taken after the unification of Japan was completed, and he mentioned

the same idea in 1586, just before he started to subdue Kyushu. All that he required, therefore, was a pretext for attacking the country, and this pretext was soon found. In 1590 he sent a message to the Korean king, demanding that Korea join him in a war upon China. When the Korean monarch returned a flat refusal to this demand, Hideyoshi declared war upon Korea and prepared for invasion.

271. Early Success and Later Reverses. For a while the invasion of Korea appeared likely to result in one more brilliant success for Hideyoshi. The first Japanese forces landed at Fusan on May 25, 1592; eighteen days later the Japanese advance guard entered Seoul, which had been hastily evacuated by the Korean king and his court. Nearly two hundred thousand of Japan's finest soldiers had been landed on Korean soil, while Hideyoshi had in readiness an additional force of more than a hundred thousand which could be sent in as reënforcements. The Korean government had utterly collapsed, and the triumphant progress of Japanese arms was opposed only by gathering bands of Korean guerrillas. Yet the attempted conquest of Korea, the last great undertaking of Hideyoshi's career, resulted in a complete and disastrous failure. After the first quick success of the Japanese troops, the resistance steadily increased in strength. The guerrilla bands, by attacking every small detached body of Japanese troops, made it impossible for the invaders to send out foraging parties. At the same time the Chinese emperor, responding to the appeals of his vassal, dispatched a powerful army to aid in expelling the Japanese. But the most serious obstacle to the success of Hideyoshi's enterprise was the fact that the Koreans controlled the sea. In June, while the Japanese army was still advancing victoriously upon the Korean capital, the famous Korean admiral Yih Sun-sin inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Japanese naval forces. This defeat was the first of a series of blows which swept the Japanese ships from the sea and cut off Hideyoshi's forces from their home land.

272. End of the War. By the beginning of October, 1592, when the first Chinese army reached Korea, the Japanese were ready for a truce; with the arrival of the main Chinese army, the following January, all hope of Japanese success was at an end. In May a preliminary truce provided that the Japanese forces should retire to the southeastern coast of Korea, and in June a Chinese mission arrived in Japan to negotiate a permanent peace. The war dragged on, however, with a good deal of desperate fighting between the Koreans and the Japanese, and it was not until after Hideyoshi's death that peace was actually restored.

273. The Korean Tortoise-Boat. The Korean naval victories, which played such an important part in deciding the outcome of the war, were made possible by a remarkable invention known as the tortoise-boat. These strange warships were absolutely different from anything the Japanese had ever seen. The "tortoise-boat" derived its name from a strong roof, like the shell of a tortoise, which completely covered it and protected its crew from the missiles of the enemy. The roof, studded with sharp spikes, so that the enemy could not come aboard to capture the ship by hand-to-hand fighting, is said to have been covered with iron plates as protection against fire-darts. For purpose of attack the tortoise-boat was provided with a sharp beak *on each end*, while its oars were so arranged that it could be rowed backward or forward with equal speed.

Admiral Yih Sun-sin had a very effective method of employing these ships in his battles with the Japanese. After approaching close to the enemy's fleet the Koreans would turn and flee as if in a panic. When the Japanese warships became scattered in the heat of the pursuit, the Koreans would suddenly reverse their oars and dart at the nearest enemy ship rear end first. The Japanese weapons would rattle harmlessly upon the strong shell of the tortoise-boat, while the sharp beak of the Korean ship would tear a great hole in the side of the Japanese vessel. Thus the Japanese warships were usually

sunk, one by one, without being able to inflict any injury upon the victorious Koreans.

274. Power seized by Iyeyasu. On September 16, 1598, Hideyoshi died, leaving an infant son named Hideyori as heir to his offices and his vast possessions; but the restoration of order in Japan had not yet gone so far that political power could be handed down, like property, from father to son. Sixteen years earlier Hideyoshi had set aside the political claims of Nobunaga's descendants; now the claims of his own son were set aside by Tokugawa Iyeyasu. For thirty-eight years Iyeyasu had been the loyal supporter of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, during which time his possessions had gradually increased until he controlled almost one seventh of Japan. These possessions were located entirely in the Kwanto, in the center of which Iyeyasu had constructed the powerful fortified city of Yedo — the modern Tokyo.

Hideyoshi, before his death, appointed Iyeyasu and four other powerful Daimyos to act as regents for the infant Hideyori; but it was not long before a conflict broke out between Iyeyasu and his fellow regents. In 1600, after a brief struggle, Iyeyasu overthrew his rivals and made himself sole regent. Although Hideyori was left in full possession of his father's property, Iyeyasu now assumed complete control over the government. Securing from the emperor, in 1603, a commission as Shogun, to which post his Minamoto descent made him eligible, Iyeyasu began to lay the foundations of an administrative system which directed the affairs of Japan for more than two and a half centuries.

275. The Tokugawa Shogunate. Like Yoritomo, the founder of the Kamakura Shogunate (§ 92), Iyeyasu feared the corrupting influence of the imperial court. At Kyoto he built a strong castle — the "Nijo Castle" — in which he stayed when he visited the emperor, and in which he kept a trusty representative to watch over the affairs of the capital; but the capital of his Shogunate was established in his own city of Yedo in

the far-off Kwanto. Here the powerful Daimyos were required to spend several months each year in attendance upon the Shogun; when they left Yedo to return to their fiefs, they were compelled to leave behind them members of their families as hostages for their loyalty. Iyeyasu's sons, with whom he was plentifully provided, were put in possession of great fiefs — all in the eastern part of the empire, so that the Tokugawa family

FUJIYAMA

From a print by Hokusai, a famous artist of the late Tokugawa period. (Original in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

would always be able to unite their forces against any threatened attack — while a number of powerful lords were connected with the Shogun's family by marriage to Iyeyasu's daughters or nieces.

At the same time Iyeyasu devoted great care to organizing a body of able officials to aid in managing the affairs of the Shogunate. An able politician himself, he realized that many of his descendants would probably be very ordinary men, so he endeavored to create an organization which would not require

an extraordinary man at its head. In 1605 he resigned the office of Shogun in favor of his eldest son Hidetada, a rather dull but hard-working man, and spent the last eleven years of his life in training Hidetada to manage the affairs of his office. Iyeyasu judged correctly with regard to the probable character of his successors. Most of them were men of decidedly mediocre ability. But the care with which he had built up the organization at Yedo enabled the Tokugawa Shogunate to be the real ruling force of the Japanese Empire for two and a half centuries after the death of its founder.

276. Introduction of Christianity. Christian missionaries reached Japan seven years after the arrival of the first Portuguese traders. In August, 1549, St. Francis Xavier and two other Jesuit priests landed at Kagoshima. Here Xavier and his companions were cordially received by the Daimyo of Satsuma, who hoped that their arrival meant the return of foreign trade to his port, but who later issued a decree against the foreign religion when he saw that the merchants' ships still passed by to the ports of his neighbors. From Satsuma the Jesuits went to Hirado, which had become the chief trading port of the Portuguese. The missionaries were treated so respectfully by the Portuguese merchants that the local rulers were deeply impressed with their importance, and their religious teaching was given the utmost toleration. After a visit to Kyoto, where he failed to obtain a hearing, Xavier determined to attempt the introduction of Christianity into China, since he believed that the educated Japanese would give respectful attention to anything which came to them from China. In the autumn of 1551, therefore, he returned to India, leaving his companions in Japan to carry on the work in Kyushu. The following year, as we have already seen (§ 250), Xavier arrived at San Chuan island off the coast of China, where he died without being able to reach the mainland.

During the thirty years following the departure of Xavier Christianity made steady progress in some parts of Kyushu,

but was not so successful in the rest of the empire. Not until 1568 did the missionaries secure permission to reside and build churches in Kyoto; and even then they found that the people of the capital showed little interest in the new doctrines. In 1581 there were reported to be a hundred and fifty thousand Christians throughout Japan. More than eighty per cent of these were in the island of Kyushu, while nearly seventy per cent of them were concentrated in the two small states of Arima and Omura, where trade with the Portuguese was most active. In the states where the local authorities, anxious to attract foreign traders to their ports, showed favor to the foreign teachers and took sides with them against the Buddhists, Christianity was able to gain a firm foothold; elsewhere it made little progress.

277. Nobunaga and the Missionaries. During the fourteen years of Nobunaga's rule the missionaries were able to carry on their work at Kyoto without fear of persecution. Although the Vice Shogun never showed any personal interest in the doctrines of the foreign religion, he favored the foreign teachers and extended to them his powerful protection. It was Nobunaga who secured for the Jesuits, in 1568, a license to preach openly in the capital. He showed marked favor to several of his vassals who embraced the Christian faith, allowing them to compel their peasants to be baptized. In 1580 he even gave the missionaries permission to erect a chapel within the walls of his new castle on the shores of Lake Biwa.

We have just seen that some of the Kyushu Daimyos favored the foreign religion in the hope of attracting foreign trade to their ports; Nobunaga's friendship for the missionaries resulted from the fact that he and the Christians had a common enemy in Buddhism. When Nobunaga first came to Kyoto the political intriguers of the Buddhist monasteries on Hiyeisan (§ 88) were allied with his opponents. From this time there was deadly hatred between Nobunaga and the monasteries. In 1571 he utterly destroyed the Hiyeisan

religious establishments and slaughtered all the monks on the mountain; but the other strong Buddhist organizations continued to make trouble for him to the end of his life. Since there was almost equal enmity between the Christians and the Buddhists, Nobunaga was quite willing to support the missionaries against their enemies — and his.

278. Hideyoshi's Early Treatment of the Missionaries. During the first years of Hideyoshi's rule the missionaries continued to enjoy government protection and favor. When the peasant statesman was preparing for the conquest of Kyushu he treated them with especial courtesy. In May, 1586, he explained to Coelho, a Jesuit leader, that it was his intention to divide Kyushu among the prominent Christian Daimyos and to hand over the port of Nagasaki to the Jesuits. As evidence of his good will Hideyoshi drew up, at Coelho's request, a document granting the missionaries three important privileges: permission to preach in all parts of Japan, freedom from the inconvenience of having soldiers billeted in their houses, and exemption from all local taxation. As a result of Hideyoshi's statement, apparently confirmed by the grant of these important concessions, the missionaries had high hopes for the future. They felt fully justified in believing that under Japan's new ruler they were to enjoy favors even greater than those which had been conferred upon them by Nobunaga.

279. The Anti-Christian Decree of 1587. These hopes were doomed to sudden and bitter disappointment. So long as he was engaged in subduing the rebellious Daimyos of Kyushu, Hideyoshi heaped favors upon the missionaries and their Japanese friends; but as soon as the struggle had been brought to a successful end, his attitude abruptly changed. At midnight on July 23, 1587, Coelho was awakened by a messenger from Hideyoshi demanding an immediate answer to the following questions: By what right did the Jesuits use force to compel Japanese to become Christians? Why did they en-

courage their followers to destroy temples? Why did they persecute the Buddhists? Why did they and the other Portuguese eat useful animals such as oxen and cows? Why did Coelho permit the Portuguese merchants to enslave Japanese and carry them to the Indies? Without waiting for Coelho's answer to these questions Hideyoshi drew up a decree, which was published on July 25, ordering all missionaries to leave Japan within twenty days; any who dared to remain after that time would be put to death. The merchants, so long as they obeyed the laws of Japan, might continue to trade at Japanese ports; but if any merchant dared to bring missionaries to the country his ship and his goods would be confiscated.

280. The Purpose of Hideyoshi's Decree. Like his earlier professions of friendly interest, Hideyoshi's stern decree against the Jesuits was simply a move in the political game which he was playing. So long as his enemies in Kyushu were undefeated, he had pretended to favor the missionaries in order to keep the Christians of Kyushu from joining the forces opposed to him. Even before 1586, however, Hideyoshi had begun to take notice of the political activity of the foreigners and their converts; his visit to Kyushu, where Christianity had its greatest following, quickly convinced him that the adherents of the new religion might easily become a serious danger to the centralized government.[1] Not only was the decree of July 25 not enforced, but there is every reason for believing that Hideyoshi never intended to enforce it. At first the twenty-day period of grace was extended to six months; when the six months had elapsed no move was made toward expelling the foreign teachers. To the end of Hideyoshi's life the Jesuits were allowed to continue their

[1] Hideyoshi's attitude toward Christianity was similar to the attitude of Cardinal Richelieu, about forty years later, toward the Huguenots in France. See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, § 372. Ginn and Company, 1924.

work, but under conditions which interfered with their earlier freedom of action. Although they were permitted to remain in the country, they were carefully watched by Hideyoshi's officials, and any attempt on their part to take part in political affairs was sure to bring upon them the punishment which had been threatened in the decree.

281. Hideyoshi and the Franciscans. For just half a century after their arrival in 1542, the Portuguese were the only foreigners to reach Japan, either as merchants or as missionaries. By 1590, however, Japanese merchants had found their way to the Philippines, and in 1592 the Spanish governor of the Philippines, De Marinas, sent an envoy to Japan to attempt to open relations with the Japanese. This first Spanish envoy was followed, a year later, by a second embassy which included among its members four Franciscan friars.[1] Hideyoshi, who was anxious to develop trade between Japan and the Spanish possessions, granted the Franciscans permission to remain at Kyoto on condition that they should refrain from preaching their religion. At this time the Portuguese Jesuits were behaving very carefully in order to give Hideyoshi no cause for enforcing his decree of 1587; but the Spanish newcomers had not yet learned that Hideyoshi was a man whose orders should be taken seriously. In utter disregard of the conditions upon which they were being allowed to remain in the country, they no sooner reached Kyoto than they began to erect a church and to preach their doctrines. In 1594 three additional friars arrived from Manila, and the Franciscans proceeded to establish a branch mission at Osaka and another at Nagasaki.

282. The First Christian Martyrs of Japan. For the moment Hideyoshi was too busy with his Korean War to pay any attention to the Franciscans; but in 1596 an incident oc-

[1] For St. Francis of Assisi and the origin of the Franciscan friars see J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, §§ 236, 237. Ginn and Company, 1924.

curred which brought the full weight of his wrath upon the men who had dared openly to defy his order. The Manila galleon of that year, having been caught in a typhoon which left it in a damaged condition off the Japanese coast, was deliberately towed upon a sand bar by the Japanese who were pretending to help it into a harbor. The local Daimyo thereupon claimed ship and cargo, under the wreckage law, and refused to listen to the protest of the Spanish commander. Finding that their protests had no effect, the Spaniards attempted to frighten the Japanese into returning the goods. They produced a map of the world and pointed out the vast possessions of the Spanish king, in order that the Japanese might realize the danger of arousing his hostility. When the Japanese inquired how the Spanish sovereign had succeeded in bringing so many lands under his control, the Spaniards replied that it was quite simple. Missionaries were sent to those countries; then, when a considerable number of the people had adopted the Christian religion, soldiers were sent to combine with the converts and to overthrow the government.

This conversation was reported to Hideyoshi, who was informed, at the same time, of the manner in which the Spanish friars had been preaching at Kyoto. The commander of the shipwrecked galleon was allowed to return to Manila with his crew, but swift and terrible punishment fell upon the Spanish missionaries. The six Franciscans, together with seventeen Japanese Christians, were seized and, early in 1597, were put to death at Nagasaki. No harm was done to the Portuguese, but a fresh decree was now issued ordering all the Portuguese to depart from Japan, and Hideyoshi took steps to prevent any further spread of Christianity among the Daimyos and the upper classes of society. The Jesuits prepared to obey the new decree, but only eleven out of more than a hundred actually left Japan. The others were carefully concealed by their friends until the death of Hideyoshi made it safe for them to resume their work in public.

THE FIRST MARTYRS

Executed, in 1597, at Nagasaki by the order of Hideyoshi. (Photograph by the Bureau of Science, Manila, from an illustration in the *Chronicles of S. Gregory*)

283. The Foreign Policy of Iyeyasu. When Iyeyasu rose to power and became the first of the Tokugawa Shoguns, he displayed great interest in the development of Japan's relations with the outside world. Hideyoshi's decrees against the missionaries were therefore not enforced, and everything possible was done to encourage the Portuguese merchants to continue their visits to Japan. But the Portuguese trade at the ports of Kyushu did not satisfy the Shogun; he was especially anxious to see commercial development at his city of Yedo, where the Portuguese seemed unwilling to come. Even before he became Shogun, Iyeyasu took steps to satisfy this desire to see Yedo become a commercial center. In December, 1598, he dispatched an ambassador to the Spanish governor of the Philippines with a suggestion that the Spaniards use Yedo as a stopping place for the Manila galleon on its annual voyage to Mexico. The Spaniards were slow to take advantage of this friendly offer; even when some of them did begin to come to Japan, Iyeyasu discovered that they were less interested in commerce than in religious propaganda. Moreover, the behavior of the Spanish soon aroused the old suspicion that their missionary enterprise was intended to pave the way for conquest. This renewed suspicion did not lead to any immediate religious persecution, but henceforth Iyeyasu kept the missionaries under careful observation.

284. Iyeyasu turns to the Dutch and English. Having been disappointed in his efforts to develop trade with the Spanish, the Shogun turned his attention to the Dutch, whose interest in trade was not mixed with any missionary program. The first Dutch ship reached Japan in the spring of 1600; by 1609 Dutch vessels were arriving regularly from their trading stations in the East Indies. But the Netherlanders, like the Portuguese, preferred to trade at the ports of Kyushu rather than bring their goods to Iyeyasu's port of Yedo.

Among the officers of the Dutch ship that reached Japan in 1600, there was an Englishman named Will Adams, who, be-

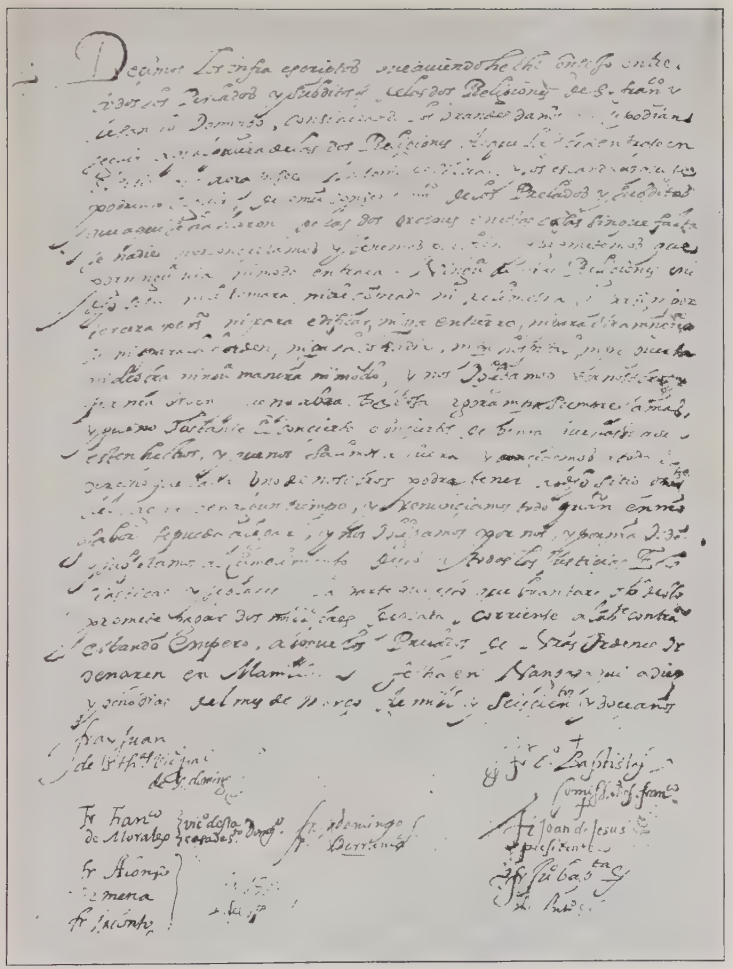
cause of his knowledge of shipbuilding and navigation, soon became quite a favorite with Iyeyasu. Adams built several ships for his powerful patron, taught him some smatterings of geometry and navigation, and gave him much information with regard to the character of the Portuguese and the Spanish. At the Shogun's request, Adams wrote letters to the English East India Company's officials, urging them to open trade with Japan and advising that they make Yedo their trading port in the country. In 1613 an English ship finally arrived, but, instead of taking Adams's advice as to the place to trade, the English Company joined the Dutch and Portuguese in trading at the ports of Kyushu. After ten years of unprofitable trade at Hirado, the English withdrew, thoroughly disgusted with the venture.

285. The failure of Iyeyasu's Commercial Policy. Iyeyasu's efforts to develop foreign trade did not stop with inviting foreign merchants to visit his ports. He encouraged his Daimyos to build ships and to give Japan an active part in international commerce. During his lifetime, and for several years after his death, Japanese ships were frequent visitors to the ports of Siam and the Indies. So active did the Japanese become that the agents of the English Company mentioned Japanese competition as one of the principal reasons for their failure to develop a profitable trade, while several Japanese vessels even made voyages as far from home as the ports of Mexico. Even here, however, Iyeyasu's hope that Yedo would become a great seaport was doomed to disappointment. The only Daimyos who showed interest in the development of trade were those of Kyushu; the Kwanto Daimyos did little or nothing to carry out the Shogun's policy.

286. New Decrees against Christianity; the "Great Persecution." The death of Iyeyasu, on June 1, 1616, was followed almost immediately by a change in Japan's policy toward the foreigners. On October 1 the Yedo government issued an edict reaffirming Hideyoshi's two decrees against Christianity;

the following May saw the execution of two foreign priests at Nagasaki — the first foreigners to be executed in Japan since the six Franciscans whom Hideyoshi had put to death in 1597. Three other missionaries were put to death in the next two years, but it was not until 1622 that the "great persecution" actually began; from that date every possible means was employed to drive the missionaries from the empire and to force the apostasy of the Japanese converts. Yet the new policy of the Japanese government was not caused entirely by religious differences. At the moment when bitter hatred between Catholic and Protestant was plunging Germany into the terrible Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), the Japanese attacked Christianity because they feared the ambitious designs of the countries from which the missionaries came.

287. The Closing of Japan. The same fear of foreign aggression led to the gradual abandonment of Iyeyasu's liberal commercial policy. In 1623 the English gave up their visits to Japan, leaving the trade in the hands of the Spanish, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the Japanese themselves. In the following year a decree was issued ordering the deportation of all Spaniards, and declaring that henceforth only non-Christians were to go abroad for purposes of trade; even these were strictly forbidden to go to the Philippines. In 1636 all Japanese, Christian or non-Christian, were forbidden to go abroad for any reason whatever; any Japanese residing abroad who should attempt to return to Japan was to be put to death. At the same time the Portuguese, because of their repeated violation of the law which forbade any ship to bring missionaries to Japan, were ordered to withdraw. For three years the Portuguese continued to trade at Nagasaki, but in 1639 they were finally expelled. In 1640 a Portuguese ship arrived at Nagasaki bearing an embassy which had been sent to attempt the restoration of trade; the four envoys, together with fifty-seven members of the crew, were put to death, thirteen of the crew being left alive that they might report to



A Letter from the Missionaries at Nagasaki, March 18, 1612

In view of a demand by the Tokugawa authorities that the missionaries promise not to enter certain parts of Japan, the Franciscan and Dominican friars wrote to their superiors in Manila for instructions. (Photograph from the original, by the Bureau of Science, Manila)

Macao the Shogun's determination to bar forever all Portuguese from his domains.

288. Japan's "Window to the West"; the Dutch at Deshima. Only the Dutch remained to carry on trade between Japan and the outside world, and even the Dutch were now kept under close observation. As early as 1637, foreigners of all nationalities were absolutely forbidden to travel into the interior of the country. In 1641, the year after the unsuccessful Portuguese effort to reopen trade, the Japanese compelled the Hollanders to move their headquarters from Hirado to the little island of Deshima at the entrance to Nagasaki harbor. Here for more than two hundred years the Dutch merchants, trading under conditions which made them practically prisoners, were the only medium through which the Japanese maintained any contact with the Western world. After ninety-nine years of intercourse with the Europeans, Japan, in 1641, closed her once-open door and left only a narrow crack through which her government and people could watch events in other lands. Reunited by the labors of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Iyeyasu, Japan withdrew into the safety of solitude.

This solitude was to last more than two centuries, until it was disturbed by the representative of a nation whose founders were, in 1641, just beginning to settle along the Atlantic coast of North America.[1]

QUESTIONS

I. Give the causes for the decline of the Kamakura Shogunate. Why did Daigo II fail in his attempt to establish a strong civil government? What is meant by the "War of Succession"? by the "Age of Turncoats"? Compare China under the Mings with Japan under the Ashikaga Shogunate. Describe the relations of the Ashikaga Shoguns with Korea and Japan. Contrast the conditions in the capital and in the provinces. Why is the "Epoch of the Warring Country" a suitable name for the Ashikaga period? How were the Portuguese received in Japan?

[1] Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in America, was founded in 1607. See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, § 476. Ginn and Company, 1924.

II. Describe Nobunaga's rise to power. How much of Japan was under Nobunaga's control at the time of his death? How did Hideyoshi's policies differ from those of Nobunaga? What were the causes of the Korean War? What advantages did Japan have in the war? Korea? Why was the tortoise-boat such an effective weapon? Why was Iyeyasu able to seize the power after the death of Hideyoshi? Explain why Iyeyasu was able to become Shogun, while Nobunaga and Hideyoshi were both unable to hold that office.

III. Who introduced Christianity into Japan? When? How did Nobunaga treat the missionaries? What was Hideyoshi's anti-Christian decree? Why did he issue it? Give a brief account of the relations between Hideyoshi and the Franciscans. What was Iyeyasu's foreign policy? Why did the successors of Iyeyasu change his foreign policy and his policy toward Christianity? After 1640 what Europeans were still allowed to trade in Japan? Where?

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

Were the Japanese acting wisely when in the seventeenth century they closed their ports to foreign traders?

If the English East India Company had established a trading post at Yedo — as Will Adams advised — instead of at Hirado, do you think this would have caused the Tokugawa Shoguns to follow a different foreign policy?

REFERENCES

Books listed under Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER XXI

THE SPANISH ISOLATION OF THE PHILIPPINES

1574. Limahong attempts to seize Manila
1762. Manila captured by the British
1780. Founding of the Economic Society of Friends of the Country
1785. The Royal Company of the Philippines is chartered
1810–1835. The Philippines are represented in the Spanish Cortes

289. Spain's Missionary Empire. Except for the few scattered trading posts which Portugal still held after the decline of her commercial greatness, the oldest European possession in the Far East was that which Spain acquired through the successful expedition under Legaspi. The Spanish government seemed to regard this Eastern possession as an outpost of the Church, a region which was first to be converted and then made a headquarters for the great work of Christianizing the Oriental world.

From 1565 until 1830, when Manila was thrown open to the merchants of all the world, the government of the Philippines was usually directed by the officials of the Church. In matters affecting relations with the other parts of the Orient, as well as in questions of internal administration, the colonial authorities at Manila and the royal government at Madrid deferred to the wishes of the clergy. Throughout the whole of this long period, therefore, the Philippines may be regarded as a "missionary empire," while the missionary influence in the islands continued to be strong so long as they remained under the rule of Spain.

290. Obstacles to the Growth of Trade. We have already noticed (§ 231) the restrictions which the Spanish government imposed upon trade between its insular possessions and

THE FIRST COMPLETE MAP OF THE PHILIPPINES

Engraved in 1734 by Nicholas de la Cruz de Bogay, a Tagalog born in Manila.
(Photograph by the Bureau of Science, Manila)

its colonies in America. In spite of these restrictions the Philippines might have enjoyed great commercial prosperity if there had been free trade with the neighboring countries of the Far East, but here also there were serious obstacles. The possibility of a valuable commerce with Japan was destroyed when the missionary activity of the Franciscans (§ 281) caused the Japanese government to forbid all further intercourse between Japan and the Philippines. Spain jealously excluded the Dutch and English merchants from the Philippine ports, partly because they were regarded as dangerous enemies, but chiefly because they were heretics.

291. Treatment of Chinese Residents. The Chinese, who had carried on trade with the Philippines long before the arrival of the Spaniards, continued to come to the islands as merchants and as settlers. Indeed, with the settlement of the Philippines by the Spaniards the possibility of trading with the West was taken advantage of by both the Chinese and the Japanese. By 1590 about seven thousand Chinese were reported to be in Manila, and in the Chinese revolt of 1603 over twenty-three thousand were reported to have been killed. The Japanese were not so numerous; in 1619 over three thousand were reported. There were special districts assigned to them and they were given special missionaries to take care of their Christian instruction. When Japan adopted a policy of isolation (§ 287), the Japanese population of Manila disappeared.

Although the industry of the Chinese immigrants and the trade of the merchants contributed greatly to the prosperity of Manila, the Spanish rulers of the islands seemed determined to deprive their colony of these benefits. Heavy taxes and oppressive regulations were imposed upon the Chinese, while there were several massacres in which thousands of Chinese lost their lives. Some of this opposition to the Chinese resulted from a fear lest their numbers should become so great as to threaten the overthrow of Spanish rule. Combined with

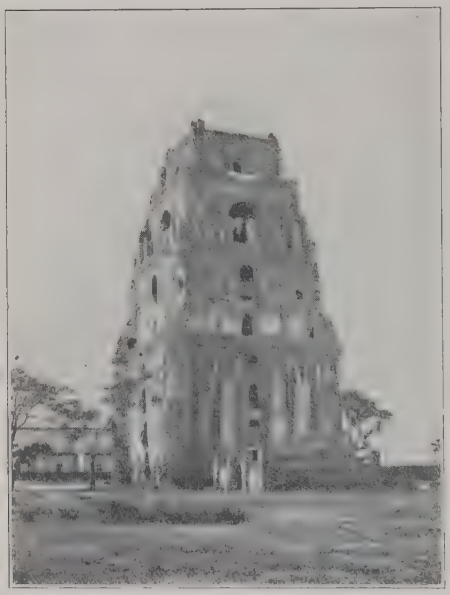
this fear, however, there was much dislike of the Chinese on religious grounds; most of the Chinese refused to accept the Christian religion, and the missionaries were determined that Christianity should prevail in the Philippines.

292. Foreign Attacks upon the Spanish Philippines. Although the missionaries, throughout the entire period of Spanish rule, exercised a powerful influence upon the government of the Philippines, the military officials seldom had

THE CATHEDRAL AT MANILA
One of the oldest buildings in the city

reason to complain of unemployment. For more than three quarters of a century after Legaspi's arrival in the islands, the Spanish conquerors constantly faced the danger of foreign attack. In its infancy the colony was threatened by Portuguese expeditions, while in 1574 the Chinese adventurer Limahong almost succeeded in making himself master of Manila. During the first half of the seventeenth century the Dutch were an ever-present source of danger; and the Spanish forces were frequently called upon to resist Dutch invasions or to

drive away the Dutch ships which were plundering the inter-island trade. About 1650, however, these attacks came to an end, and the Philippines for more than a century had little to fear from abroad. During the Seven Years' War in Europe (1756–1763)[1] Spain became an ally of France against Great Britain, with the result that a British expedition was sent against the Philippines. On October 5, 1762, the British forces captured the city of Manila, but they were unable to compel the surrender of the Spanish authorities in other parts of the islands. The treaty of peace, which was concluded the following March, provided for the return of Manila. This restoration was accomplished in June, 1764, although the British long continued an illegal occupation of some of the Sulu islands; Spanish authority was reëstablished at Manila, where it remained throughout the next hundred and thirty-four years, undisturbed by outside attack.



Church Tower at Laoag, Ilocos Norte

During the period of Spain's missionary empire, the most important buildings erected throughout the Philippines were the churches

293. Internal Revolts. Even more serious than these outside dangers were the internal struggles which frequently threat-

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, § 446. Ginn and Company, 1924.

ened the Spanish authority. Some of these disturbances took the form of religious outbreaks and were caused by the forced conversions to Christianity. Most of them, however, resulted from economic discontent. The Spanish rule was oppressive, and the heavy burdens of taxation imposed upon the people often aroused them to fierce revolts which were suppressed only after much hard fighting. Whenever the Spaniards had no revolt to occupy their attention, there were always the Moros against whom they could direct their military operations. These Philippine followers of Mohammed were the most warlike, the best organized, and the most strongly united people of the islands, and were able to maintain a fairly equal struggle against the conquering Europeans. At times the Spanish succeeded in inflicting severe defeats upon the Moro forces; but they were never able to conquer the Moro kingdoms, which often retaliated by destructive raids upon the regions under Spanish rule. In 1848 the fighting power of the Spanish was greatly increased by the acquisition of several steam warships; and in 1850 they were able to arrange a permanent peace with the Moro Sultan of Sulu. The Sultan agreed to recognize Spanish authority and to refrain from attacks upon the Christian parts of the Philippines; in return for this he was to receive an annual subsidy from the government at Manila.

PROTECTION AGAINST THE MOROS

One of the towers along the northwest coast of Luzon, from which a watch was maintained in order to warn against the approach of Moro ships

294. A New Economic Policy. For more than two centuries the Spanish made almost no effort to develop the natural resources of the Philippines. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, however, Spain began to adopt a new economic policy with regard to its colonies. Steps were now taken to enable Spain to derive from the Philippines economic benefits similar to those which the English and the Dutch had been deriving from their possessions in the Orient. In 1780 the governor of the Philippines, acting in accordance with instructions from Madrid, formed an organization known as the Economic Society of Friends of the Country. This society, by encouraging the introduction of new methods and new machines, did a great deal to improve agriculture and other industries. Two years later the production of tobacco was made a government monopoly. As the profits from this monopoly all went into the treasury at Manila, the insular authorities showed great energy in increasing the acreage planted in tobacco, and in improving the methods of cultivation. In 1785 the Spanish government issued a charter to the Royal Company of the Philippines, giving it exclusive rights of trade between Spain and the Philippines. The king himself invested large sums of money in this company, from which great profits were expected — but never realized. Various other monopolies were created about the same time, which, like the tobacco monopoly, were intended to provide funds to meet the expenses of government.

295. Benefits of the New Policy. Not all of these steps were beneficial to the Philippine people; indeed the monopolies often caused much hardship and aroused popular discontent. But the adoption of this new economic policy led to the introduction of many reforms which were of unquestioned benefit. As soon as the government began to realize that its own prosperity was dependent on the prosperity of the people, measures were taken to improve conditions of living, and to prevent the spread of contagious diseases. The establishment

of government monopolies interested in the development of commerce led to the building of better roads and a general improvement of communications throughout the islands. The growth of a commercial community, whose members were interested in the affairs of the outside world, finally resulted in the establishment of newspapers and publishing houses.

296. The Growth of National Consciousness. When Spain first occupied the Philippines the people were divided into a countless number of independent groups. This division, which continued after the conquest of the islands, was a great advantage to the conquerors, since they were often able to utilize the warriors of one group against a hostile neighbor, and the popular anti-Spanish outbreaks were usually local and seldom spread beyond the particular district in which they originated. By the close of the eighteenth century this condition was beginning to disappear. As a result of the improved means of communication and the nationalizing influence of education, the old group divisions between peoples who spoke related languages were no longer remembered; large numbers of the people began to think of themselves as Filipinos instead of merely members of their little local communities. The growth of this national consciousness was aided by several facts. The new economic legislation brought the government into closer contact with the people and gave them a greater interest in political affairs; increased commercial activity resulted in the development of a Filipino "middle class," whose interests were much wider than those of the humble villagers; and the last years of the century saw the ideas of the French Revolution and of the American Revolution beginning to reach the current of Filipino thought.

297. A "Nation" or a "Possession"? Since many of the Philippine people had Spanish blood in their veins, while many others had adopted Spanish ideas and the Spanish language the growing national consciousness was not necessarily anti-Spanish. On the contrary, it seems to have been combined

with a spirit of loyalty to the Spanish king. Between 1810 and 1835 the Philippines enjoyed the right of representation in the Spanish Cortes[1]; but in 1837, despite the vigorous protests from the Philippines, this right was abolished. From this time the spirit of nationalism became a real danger to Spanish authority. The Filipinos had been proud to regard themselves as a part of Spain, but they were quick to resent being treated as a Spanish possession. From about the middle of the nineteenth century the Spanish rulers of the Philippines were therefore confronted by a difficult situation: the effects of Spanish control had called into existence a Filipino "nation," and Spain was attempting to rule this nation as a Spanish "possession."

QUESTIONS

I. Why can the Philippines under Spanish rule be called a "missionary empire"? How did the activities of the Spanish missionaries affect relations between the Philippines and Japan? (See Chapter XX.) How were the Chinese treated? By what foreign enemies were the Philippines attacked? What were the causes of the internal troubles?

II. When did the Spanish government begin to adopt a new policy in the administration of the Philippines? What was the purpose of this policy? What were the results? Show how the rule of the Spanish helped to create a spirit of nationalism in the Philippines. How long did the Philippines have representation in the Spanish Cortes? What was the effect upon the Filipinos when this representation was abolished?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Compare the importance of religion, of education, and of economic development as factors in the growth of Philippine nationalism during the Spanish period.

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[1] The national assembly of Spain.

CHAPTER XXII

THE DUTCH DOMINATION OF THE EAST INDIES AND THE BRITISH EXPANSION IN INDIA

1619.	Treaty between England and Holland, providing for coöperation in the Orient
1623.	The Massacre of Amboyna
	The English withdraw from the East Indies
1640.	The English establish a trading post at Madras
1641.	The Dutch take Malacca and gain supremacy in the East Indian trade
1662.	Portugal cedes Bombay to the English
1707.	Death of Aurangzeb; decline of the Mogul Empire
1757.	Battle of Plassey; destruction of French influence in India
1798.	Dissolution of the Dutch East India Company
1811–1816.	The Dutch East Indies under British rule
1848.	Beginning of reform in the Dutch colonial government
1857.	Sepoy Mutiny in India
1858.	End of the English East India Company

298. Nature of the Dutch and English Trade. We are accustomed to think of the European countries as they are today, with their great manufacturing cities producing goods for export to all parts of the world. But seventeenth-century Europe was very different from the Europe of the twentieth century; it was not until nearly two hundred years after the Dutch and English first reached the East Indies that the modern industrial system began to develop in the West. In 1600, and for nearly two centuries after that date, neither England nor Holland produced much that could be exported to the Far East in exchange for Eastern products. Some of the Eastern goods to be sold in their home markets could be obtained in return for articles which were common in Europe but rare in the Orient; some could be bought with the gold and silver which were pouring into Europe from Spanish

America. But the two East India Companies soon found other ways of supplying themselves with the products of the East. One method of securing these products was to establish themselves as rulers over parts of the Far East, and to compel the people to provide the cargoes by paying taxes or tribute to their conquerors. Thus the Dutch and the English, having first aided the Eastern peoples to overthrow the power of the Portuguese, soon proceeded to imitate the Portuguese policy of controlling all trade between the different parts of the Far East, and began to build up empires of their own in the regions where Portugal once ruled.

299. Anglo-Dutch Coöperation and Rivalry. The English had made their first voyages to the East Indies as a protest against the high prices which the Dutch merchants were charging for their spices; yet the two nations often coöperated against their common enemy, the Portuguese. At other times, however, the relations between the two Companies were marked by bitter rivalry; and the bitterness increased as the power of Portugal declined. Soon after the Dutch succeeded in expelling the Portuguese from the island of Amboyna (1605), the English merchants were given permission to establish a trading post of their own alongside the Dutch "factory." [1] For a number of years the representatives of the two Companies remained here carrying on their rival trade with the Spice Islanders. In 1618, however, the English combined with one of the princes of Java and attempted to drive the Dutch from the port of Jacatra. In the following year the Dutch were able to take revenge for this hostile act; a Dutch fleet attacked four English ships, sinking one and capturing three.

In 1619 the governments of England and Holland, alarmed at these repeated conflicts between their merchants in the Orient, concluded a treaty providing for coöperation in de-

[1] "Factory" was the term used in those days for the groups of buildings in which trade was carried on.

fense of their common interests. Among other things, the treaty arranged for a combined Anglo-Dutch fleet of warships operating in Far Eastern waters; this fleet was to prevent all direct trade between China and the Indies, so that the Chinese would be forced to buy all their East Indian commodities

An Early European Map of the East Indies

Reproduced from a map, published about 1730, by J. B. Homann, one of the leading cartographers of that time

from the Dutch and English. The friendly coöperation provided for by the treaty of 1619 did not last long. In 1623 the Dutch governor of Amboyna arrested and executed the entire English staff of the Company at that port on the charge of conspiring to overthrow Dutch rule in the island. This event, referred to by English writers as the "Massacre of Amboyna,"

put an end to the brief period of good relations, and the former rivalry between the two Companies was resumed with increased bitterness.

300. Dutch and English in Indo-China. Like the Portuguese, the Dutch and English soon opened commercial relations with the states of Indo-China. Dutch merchants arrived at the Siamese port of Patani in 1602 and established a trading post there. Three years later the Dutch factory was attacked and destroyed by Japanese rivals, but the Company reëstablished its post and continued for many years to carry on trade at this and at other Siamese ports. Ten years after the arrival of the Dutch, an English ship reached Patani and an English factory was established. The English were less successful than the Dutch in their attempts to trade with Siam; in 1623 the English factory was abandoned, and the English Company made no attempt to reopen commerce with Siam for nearly forty years.

In Burma the English and the Dutch arrived together. Both Companies received permission in 1619 to open trading posts at a number of Burmese cities. It was not long, however, before they succeeded in making themselves unpopular with the Burmese government, with the result that they were expelled from the country. The Dutch merchants never became important in the affairs of Burma; but here, as in Siam, the last half of the seventeenth century saw the English Company resume trading operations.

DUTCH CONTROL OF THE EAST INDIES

301. The East Indies in 1641. With the capture of Malacca by the Dutch in 1641, the mastery of the East Indies was divided between the Dutch and the Spanish. The great commercial empire of the Portuguese, which had been established more than a century earlier, now lay in ruins, and Portugal held only a few scattered trading posts in India as relics of her former power. As a result of the "Massacre of Amboyna" in

1623 and the failure of its trade in Siam, the English East India Company withdrew its representatives almost entirely from this part of the Orient and confined its commercial operations to the ports of India, Persia, and the Red Sea. After 1641 the civil war in England occupied the attention of the English people so completely that twenty years elapsed before they were ready to resume their rivalry with the Dutch in the Far East.

A Modern Javanese Princess

A princess of the royal court at Djokjakarta

Between the Dutch and the Spanish there were occasional conflicts but little serious rivalry. The Spanish rulers of the Philippines made almost no effort to develop trade with other parts of the Far East; even the trade between the Philippines and the Spanish possessions in America was restricted to the single annual voyage of the Manila galleon. Moreover, the power of Spain, in the seventy-six years since Legaspi's arrival in the East Indies, had been so exhausted by a long series of European wars that the Spanish government was now content to hold the Philippines and to continue its self-appointed task of Christianizing the conquered people.

302. The Rule of the Dutch East India Company. For a while, therefore, the Dutch East India Company was practically without European rivals in its trade between Europe

and the East Indies; from Ceylon to the Moluccas its commercial supremacy was challenged only by occasional smugglers and "free traders." Over much of this area the Dutch maintained their influence by means of alliances with local rulers, to whom they gave military assistance in return for special trading privileges. But in some of the islands, particularly in Java, the Company acquired a more direct "overlordship"; the local chieftains became its vassals and were required to pay definite tribute in the products of their particular regions. The merchants of foreign countries were jealously excluded from any share in the trade with the islands, thus enabling the Company to set its own price upon European goods in the Far East and upon East Indian goods in Europe; and the commodities which were received in the form of tribute produced a profit which far exceeded the costs of administration. Many Dutch officials in the islands argued in favor of colonization and free trade, but the directors of the Company steadily refused to take any step which might endanger its existing profits. Thus the Dutch, having established their authority, constantly strove to prevent any change in the condition of the islands under their rule.

For slightly more than a hundred and fifty years the government of this region was exercised by the Dutch East India Company. Although the Dutch Company thought only of trade, whereas the Spanish rulers of the Philippines were chiefly interested in spreading Christianity, there was some resemblance between the Dutch and Spanish treatment of their possessions. Neither government showed any regard for the welfare of the people under their control, while both adopted the policy of strictly excluding all other Europeans from their domains.

303. Oppressive Nature of the Company's Rule. In some respects the Dutch rule was even more oppressive than that of the Spanish. The direct rule in the Dutch possessions was intrusted to local rulers or tribal chieftains, who, so long as

they produced the amount of tribute demanded by the Company, were allowed to misgovern the people as they pleased. At times when the commodities of the islands were selling at high prices in Europe, the Company would suddenly demand fifty or even a hundred per cent additional tribute from their "vassals," thus forcing the local rulers to impose a greatly increased burden upon the people. At other times, when the Company had no market for the regular amount of the tribute, large quantities of spices and other goods were destroyed in order to keep them from falling into the hands of the foreign smugglers who constantly endeavored to trade with the islands. Peace was the single benefit which the people of the Indies obtained from the Company's rule. The Company was not especially peaceable itself, being always ready to go to war against any commercial rival; but wherever it succeeded in establishing its authority, it suppressed the petty tribal wars which formerly had been so frequent.

304. The End of the Dutch East India Company. From about the year 1700 the commercial activities of the Dutch Company ceased to produce a profit. In spite of the efforts to suppress smuggling, the people of the islands were buying goods from English, French, Danish, and even Dutch smugglers, while the goods brought by the Company's ships rotted in the warehouses. Long after the decline of its trading operations, however, the Company continued to make huge profits by selling in Europe the commodities which were received as tribute from its subject peoples. Finally, even these profits began to decrease. Money was wasted in futile efforts to carry on the declining trade and in costly wars for the extension of the Company's territorial power. The directors in Holland issued to the stockholders dividends much larger than the amount of the actual profits. Large sums of money were lost annually through the inefficiency and dishonesty of the Company's officers. By 1793 the directors were forced to admit that the Company was hopelessly in debt. Five years later its debts and its

property were assumed by the government of the Netherlands, and the Dutch East India Company, after a hundred and ninety-six years of existence, came to an inglorious end.

305. Five Years of British Rule. Three years before the final dissolution of the Company, the armies of revolutionary France had invaded the Netherlands and had annexed that country to the French Republic. Since Great Britain was at war with the French, the Dutch possessions thus became enemy territory which England might lawfully attempt to conquer. Most of the islands were quickly seized, but it was not until 1811 that the British captured Batavia and established their own government over the entire East Indies. From this date until 1816, when the islands were handed back to the Netherlands in accordance with the decisions of the Congress of Vienna, the East Indies were ruled as a province of British India. During this period of five years the administration of the East Indies was in the hands of a very able governor-general, Sir Stamford Raffles, whom the viceroy of India gave full liberty of action. Raffles attempted to introduce sweeping reforms in the government of the islands, especially by abolishing the "feudal" system of governing by means of the local chiefs; but he had little time in which to carry out such revolutionary changes, and the restoration of the territory to Holland put an end to his experiments.[1]

306. The Rule of the Crown. For thirty-two years after the East Indies were handed back to the Dutch, they were governed as absolutely and as harshly as during the days of the Company rule. The king of Holland and his ministers held the powers which formerly had been held by the directors of the Company; the income obtained from the islands merely went into the royal treasury instead of going into the treasury of the Company. Not until 1848 was the constitution of the Netherlands so amended as to give to the Dutch Estates-

[1] He later founded the beginnings of British power in Singapore and the Malay Peninsula.

General the power of controlling the management of Holland's colonial possessions; before that date the king had a right to rule these overseas territories as he pleased. Although the condition of the people was not improved by this transfer to royal authority, there were changes in the methods by which they were compelled to produce a profit for their rulers. Formerly they had been compelled to provide annual tribute in the form of fixed quantities of goods; now the people were required to work for a certain portion of their time at the cultivation of

BUILDINGS IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

The style of architecture is Javanese

such commodities as the government wanted. This "culture system," as it was called, was applied to the production of such crops as sugar and coffee, for which there was a good market in Europe.

In theory the culture system demanded only one fourth or one third of a laborer's time; in actual practice the people of some districts were compelled to spend practically all their time working upon those crops which were intended for export.

307. The Beginning of Reform. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century public opinion in the Netherlands began to condemn the oppression of the East Indian people, and some

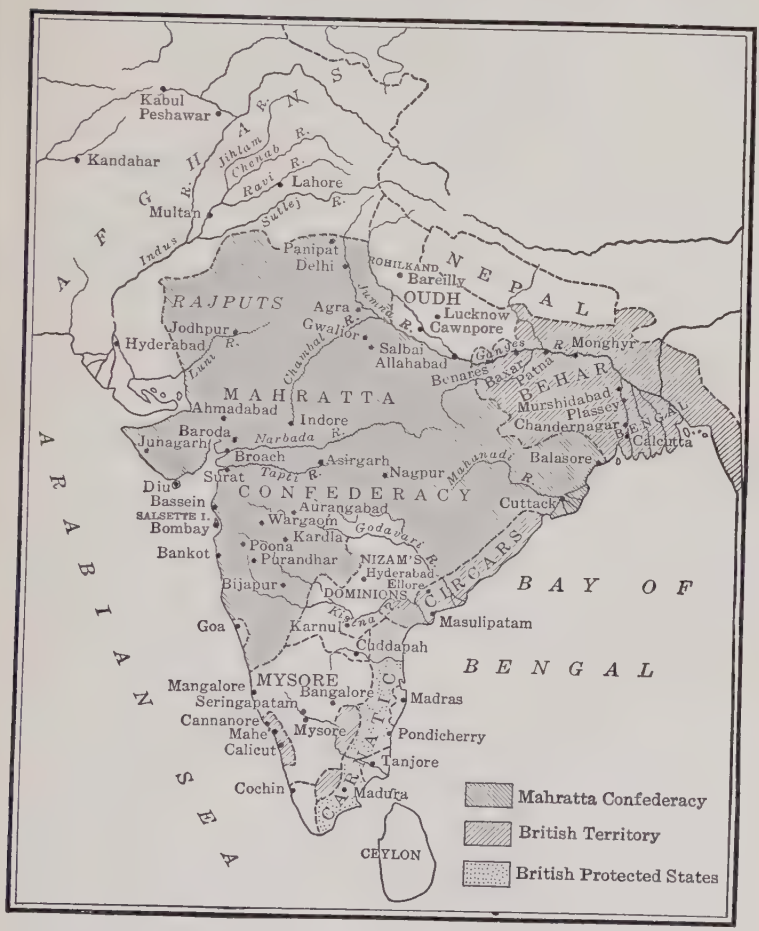
efforts were made to reform conditions in the islands. The "revolutionary year" of 1848 marked the beginning of a new era for the Dutch East Indies. Since the new constitution of that year gave the Estates-General a voice in the control of the colonies, the influence of public opinion became much stronger than it formerly had been. At first any change came slowly, but from that time reforms have been made and the condition of the islanders has steadily improved.

THE GROWTH OF BRITISH INDIA

308. The British and the Moguls. While the Dutch merchants were gaining control over the eastern portions of what had once been the Portuguese commercial empire, the English East India Company devoted its energies chiefly to developing trade with India. In 1623, as we have already seen (§§ 300, 284), the English abandoned their factories in Siam and in Japan, while the same year witnessed their expulsion from Amboyna by the Dutch. For a good many years after that date the English Company made almost no effort to compete with their Dutch rivals in the regions east of India.

In India the English faced a situation very different from that which confronted the Dutch in the Malay world. The Dutch were finding it easy to extend their power over the disunited Mohammedan states of the East Indies, or to secure special commercial privileges by aiding one local chief in war against his enemies; but the greater part of India was now under the sway of the Mogul emperors, who were striving to complete the unification which had been begun by Akbar. Although the English had received from the Moguls a charter granting them the right to trade at Indian ports, they felt a need of fortified ports similar to those which the Portuguese and the Dutch possessed. In 1628, therefore, they fortified their factory at Armagon on the east coast of India at fourteen degrees north latitude; twelve years later, having received a grant of land at Madras some sixty miles south of Armagon,

they erected a fort there and established a commercial town. For twenty years after the founding of Madras the activities



INDIA IN 1795

of the English Company were very feeble; but the Stuart restoration, in 1660, was followed by the grant of a new charter, and the Company began to display fresh energy in the develop-

ment of its trade. In 1662, when Charles II of England married Catherine of Braganza, the Portuguese ceded to Charles the island of Bombay as part of Catherine's dowry. Six years later Charles, having no other use for the island, handed it over to the Company, by which it was converted into a commercial and naval base for the Indian west coast.

About the time the English acquired Bombay, events in India were developing in a manner which was very advantageous for the foreign traders. Shah Jehan, the builder of the Taj Mahal, was succeeded in 1658 by his son, Aurangzeb, who adopted a policy which destroyed all hope for the complete unification of India. Abandoning the religious toleration which had characterized the wise rule of Akbar, Aurangzeb endeavored to force his Hindu subjects to accept the teachings of Mohammed. This policy drove the Hindus to revolt and resulted in the rise of two non-Mohammedan powers within the territory which formerly had submitted to Mogul authority: the Mahratta Confederacy in the Dekkan and the Sikh Confederacy in northwestern India. Misled by the apparent break-up of the empire, the Company, in 1685, undertook to extend its possessions by force of arms; but a severe defeat by Aurangzeb's armies soon proved that the Mogul government was still strong enough to repel foreign aggression. After the death of Aurangzeb, in 1707, the power of the Moguls rapidly declined and a number of independent or semi-independent states began to appear in the land; but the English, having learned a bitter lesson, were determined not to repeat their mistake. More than forty years elapsed, therefore, before they made a fresh effort to take advantage of this political dissolution.

309. The English and the French. During the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, all French attempts to develop Far Eastern commerce had failed because no one in France had any particular interest in the matter; but a new French company organized by Colbert, in 1664,

quickly gave evidence of a more enterprising spirit. In 1668, the year in which the English Company secured the island of Bombay, a French factory was started at Surat, and the French soon had additional trading posts at a number of Indian ports. At first the French confined their attention to the west coast of India; but in 1674 they bought the town of Pondicherry, which soon became the most important commercial port on the east coast. Some thirty years after the death of Aurangzeb, the French, whose affairs were now directed by the brilliant Dupleix, began to intervene in disputes between the various Indian rulers and to acquire a number of valuable places along the east and west coasts. The steady expansion of French influence in India was a serious matter for the English Company, which found itself in danger of being gradually forced out of the country.

The War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), in which France and Great Britain took opposite sides, gave the English an opportunity to attack French trade and French colonies in all parts of the world. In India the struggle between the two rivals, which commenced in 1745, ended twelve years later with the complete destruction of the French power. France retained, and still retains, Pondicherry and a few other trading ports; but from the date of the battle of Plassey, in 1757, she ceased to have any political influence over the Indian rulers.[1]

310. The East India Company builds an Empire. Before the conflict with the French, the activities of the English East India Company had been almost entirely commercial; during and after this conflict the Company became the ruler of a steadily expanding empire. The methods by which this empire was acquired were similar to those already employed so successfully by the Dutch Company in the East Indies; these methods had been introduced into India by Dupleix, and the

[1] For the important events of this struggle, which is really a part of Western history, see J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, §§ 465–473. Ginn and Company, 1924.

English now adopted them with conspicuous success. Whenever two neighboring states became involved in war, the Company allied itself with one belligerent against its enemy; wherever two claimants arose to dispute the succession to a vacant throne, the Company aided one claimant against his rival. In every case the support thus given was to be rewarded by the payment of tribute and by the grant of valuable trading privileges. The policy of ruling through tributary princes was adopted for the greater part of the peninsula. But in some parts of India, especially along the east coast and in the Ganges valley, the Company did away with the local rulers and brought a large area under its direct government. The London directors of the Company often expressed their disapproval of this expansionist policy; but a long line of energetic governors seldom had difficulty in finding an excuse for some fresh extension of their political power.[1]

311. The Sepoy Mutiny (1857); End of the East India Company. The gradual extension of the Company's dominion was accomplished partly by diplomacy and partly by means of a long series of wars. Two wars were fought against the Sultan of Mysore, a state in the northern part of the Dekkan; three were waged against the Mahratta Confederacy, two against the Afghans, two against the Sikhs, one against Nepal, and two against the Burmese. In addition to these there were numerous minor campaigns against less important foes. To carry on these wars and to retain its authority over the subjugated areas, the Company was obliged to maintain a large fighting force. Only about one fifth of its army was composed of European troops; the other four fifths were sepoys — Indian soldiers who were armed and drilled in the European manner. Since the expenses of the wars were met by taxes collected from India, and since the greater part of the army

[1] The more important of these governors were Robert Clive, Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, Lord Wellesley — whose brother, Arthur Wellesley, later became Duke of Wellington — Lord Amherst, and Lord Dalhousie.

was composed of Indian troops, the extension of British rule in India was accomplished without any burden upon the English people. For just a century after the battle of Plassey had expelled its European rival, the East India Company was thus able to control its growing empire; but in 1857 there occurred an upheaval which threatened to destroy the

AN INCIDENT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDIA

Mahratta grabs and gallivats attacking an English ship. (From Mookerji's *History of Indian Shipping*)

British position in India and which did result in the abolition of the Company's rule. This upheaval was the Sepoy Mutiny.

This outbreak, which was confined to the sepoys in the northern provinces, was checked with the aid of the troops which remained loyal; but the British government was compelled to send a large force of European soldiers to India before the rebellion was finally suppressed. Although the government for many years had exercised an increasing degree of supervision over Indian affairs, the Company had been allowed to retain actual control of the vast areas which it had conquered. After the Sepoy Mutiny the British Parliament decided that

the management of the Indian Empire was a task which no longer could be left in the hands of a commercial organization. In 1858, therefore, the English East India Company was dissolved, as the Dutch East India Company had been dissolved just sixty years earlier, and India became definitely a part of the British dominions.

QUESTIONS

I. Review the founding of the Dutch and the English East India Companies. Tell about their rivalry. What was the nature of the Dutch and English trade in the Orient? Describe the rule of the Dutch East India Company. When did the Company's rule come to an end? Who was Sir Stamford Raffles? What was the "culture system"?

II. Describe the early relations between the English East India Company and the Moguls. How did Aurangzeb's policy prevent the unification of India? When and where did the French establish their first factory in India? What policy did Dupleix follow in India? What was the outcome of the rivalry between the French and the English? Tell how the English Company built up an empire in India. Who were the sepoys? What change in the government of British India followed the Sepoy Mutiny?

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

Explain how increased popular government in the ruling countries (that is, greater power of the legislature) affected the colonial governments of the Dutch East Indies and the Indian Empire.

Has this same effect been noticed in the history of the Philippines?

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CHAPTER XXIII

EUROPEAN EXPANSION INTO INDO-CHINA, AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF SIAM

1664. The Dutch East India Company makes a commercial treaty with Siam
1753. Burma is reunited by Alompra
1759. Alompra attempts to conquer Siam
1782. Establishment of the present dynasty on the Siamese throne
1819. The British obtain Singapore
1824–1826. The first war between Great Britain and Burma; the British obtain Assam and Tenasserim
1862. The French secure Cochin China
1867. Cambodia becomes a French protectorate
1885. Conquest of Burma by the British

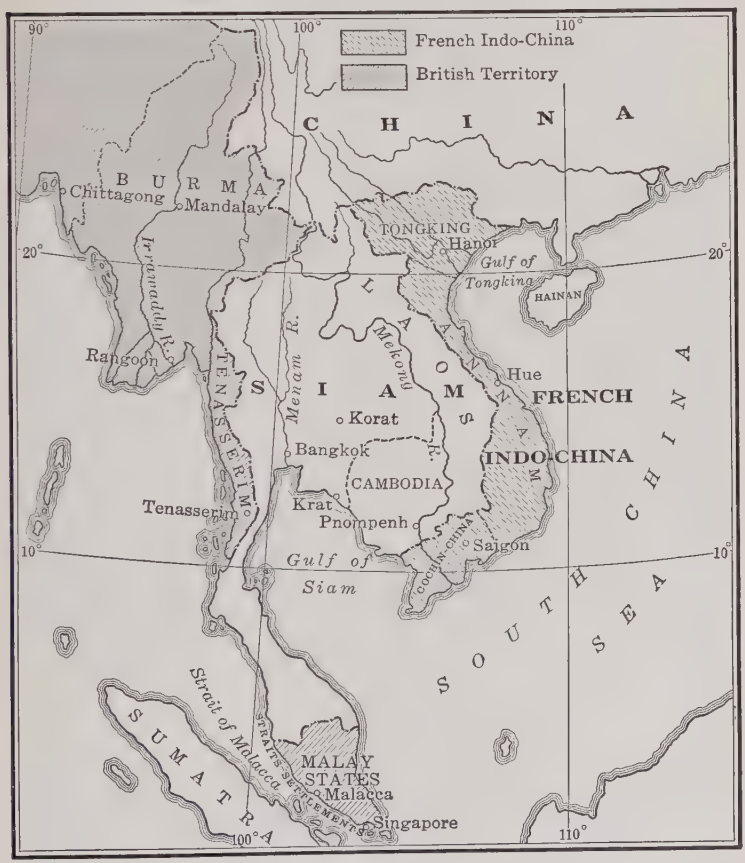
312. English, French, and Dutch. During these centuries of growing European influence, the English, the French, and the Dutch all took an active interest in the affairs of Indo-China. At first their interest was chiefly commercial, but it was not long before their commercial interest led to political interference in various parts of the peninsula. Wars and internal disturbances often made it possible for the Europeans, by lending support to one of the contending parties, to secure valuable commercial privileges, and European advisers and European mercenaries frequently helped their fellow nationals to obtain special trading rights from the governments to which they attached themselves. After the destruction of Portugal's commercial empire, the Dutch were the first to secure territory and special rights in Indo-China. Their capture of Malacca, in 1641, was followed by a rapid growth in their trade with the Siamese ports, and in 1664 the Dutch Company was able to conclude a very favorable treaty with Siam. But the Dutch were so fully occupied with the management of their insular

possessions that they were not able to devote much energy to extending their influence in the neighboring peninsula; moreover, the last half of the seventeenth century saw the Netherlands involved in a series of European wars from which they suffered in much the same way as Portugal had suffered during the preceding century. Active intervention in the affairs of Indo-China, therefore, was undertaken chiefly by the English and the French. For a while these two nations pursued here the rivalry that marked their relations in all parts of the world; but eventually both powers succeeded in laying the foundations of the possessions which they still hold on opposite sides of the peninsula.

313. British Expansion into Burma. The close of the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth century saw a recurrence of the old struggle between the northern and southern kingdoms of Burma. About the middle of the eighteenth century a strong ruler, named Alompra, came to the throne of north Burma, and in 1753 he succeeded in reuniting north Burma and Pegu into a single state. Alompra received aid from the English East India Company in this struggle, while the Peguans were aided by the French; Alompra's success, therefore, resulted in a grant of commercial privileges to the English. Having reunited the Burmese kingdoms, the new conqueror now followed the example of Buyin Naung (§ 155), and in 1759 attempted the conquest of Siam. For a brief period Siam was again brought under Burmese rule, and when the Siamese regained their independence Burma was able to retain possession of Tenasserim, a narrow strip of land along the western side of the Malay Peninsula.

Although Alompra had received assistance from the English in his war against Pegu, his successors soon found it difficult to keep on good terms with these new rulers of India. Trouble at first arose between the Burmese officials and the British merchants over questions of taxation, but it was not long before a territorial question was added to the causes for disagreement.

The province of Bengal was separated from Burma by the little state of Assam, lying to the east of the Brahmaputra River. At various times in the past Assam had been a part



INDO-CHINA IN 1885

of Burma, but the English were determined that it should remain independent now so as to serve as a "buffer state." When the Burmese, ignoring the Company's protests, invaded and annexed Assam, the English declared war. This first Burmese

war (1824–1826) was ended by a treaty in which Burma abandoned her claims to Assam and also surrendered Tenasserim to the English. Twenty-six years after the conclusion of the first war, Lord Dalhousie, the English governor general, found cause for a second attack upon Burma; this time the Burmese state was forced to surrender all its seacoast provinces. The dissolution of the East India Company, a few years after the second Burmese war, did not bring any relief to the Burmese. In 1885 the viceroy of British India decided that the rule of King Thibaw was a danger to British commercial interests. Burma, therefore, was invaded once more, this time with the result that the entire kingdom was brought under British sway.

314. Singapore; the Federated Malay States. For centuries Malacca, located near the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula, was the commercial metropolis of the East Indies. Under the Mohammedan Arabs, under the Portuguese, and under the Dutch, Malacca had dominated the trade of the Malay world. During the Napoleonic wars, as we have seen (§ 305), the British seized and held all the Dutch possessions in the Far East. In 1816 these possessions, including the port of Malacca, were handed back to the Netherlands; but three years later the British acquired the little island of Singapore, at the extreme southern tip of the peninsula, and established here a rival commercial city. Since the harbor of Singapore is deep enough to accommodate ships much larger than those which can safely enter the shallow water of Malacca harbor, Singapore soon outstripped its neighbor in commercial importance. Within a short time the trade of Malacca had so greatly declined that the Dutch willingly exchanged this once important port for the English trading port of Bencoolen on the southwestern coast of Sumatra. Singapore and Malacca served the British as a base from which their authority has extended gradually northward until they now control the southern part of the Malay Peninsula as far north as the sixth degree north latitude. The narrow strip along the Strait of

Malacca is known as the Straits Settlements, but the greater part of this sphere of British control, which has been acquired between 1819 and 1909, is included in an area called the Federated Malay States.

Between 1874 and 1888 Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang became British-protected, each receiving a British Resident. Gradually they became British-administered, and

The Sir Stamford Raffles Statue at Singapore

Erected in honor of the man who founded the city of Singapore and gained for Great Britain a foothold on the Malay Peninsula

in 1896 they federated themselves under a British Resident General, but retained their respective Residents. Thus came into existence the political unit known as the Federated Malay States. Each of these states is nominally under the native sultan, behind whom is the British Resident, who wields the real power.

315. Siam and the European Advance. The steady advance of European influence into the Far East proved less disastrous to the Siamese than it did to their Burmese neighbors.

Although less powerful than Burma, when the Burmese were united into a single kingdom, Siam was less troubled by internal disorders of the sort which so often made Burma weak. Partly for this reason and partly because a strong mountain barrier lay between them and the expanding British possessions in India, the Siamese were able to avoid the gradual absorption which overtook the Burmese. Yet it would be a mistake to think that Siam was not deeply affected by the coming of the Europeans; Western merchants arrived at her ports even before they found their way to the ports of Burma, and European adventurers played a prominent part in the internal affairs of the country.

The most remarkable of these Western adventurers was Constantine Faulkon, the son of a Levantine[1] innkeeper. Arriving at Ayuthia in 1659, Faulkon quickly rose to be the trusted adviser and chief minister of Phra Narai, the king of Siam. For nearly thirty years Faulkon was the power behind the throne. At first his influence was beneficial to the country; he advocated a liberal commercial policy, encouraging the Dutch, English, and French to increase their trade with Siam. Later, however, Faulkon joined three French missionaries in an attempt to bring Siam under the influence of France. Faulkon and the missionaries opened correspondence with Louis XIV, to whom they suggested the idea of establishing French supremacy in Siam as a beginning of a French colonial empire in Indo-China. The French king responded by sending six warships and fourteen hundred soldiers to Siam, while vigorous efforts were made to convert Phra Narai to Christianity. The arrival of this formidable French force and the activities of the missionaries soon roused the fears of the Siamese people; in 1688 a popular revolt drove Phra Narai from the throne, killed Faulkon, and expelled the French troops.

316. Disorder and a New Dynasty. The outbreak which overthrew Phra Narai and his foreign adviser probably saved

[1] The Levant is the eastern Mediterranean region.

Siam from becoming a French possession, but it was followed by a long period of disorder and weakness. A long civil war, arising out of a disputed succession to the throne, was hardly ended when the armies of Alompra invaded the country. In 1767, after eight years of fighting, the Burmese destroyed Ayuthia and compelled the Siamese to submit to the rule of a Burmese viceroy. As had been the case two centuries earlier (§ 149), the Burmese viceroy was soon expelled by a popular uprising, and in 1782 the first king of a new dynasty ascended the Siamese throne.

The new monarch, Rama I, was the founder of a dynasty which has ruled Siam down to the present day. Siam now entered upon a period of good government under which her internal condition and her foreign relations greatly improved. The capital of the country was established at its present site, Bangkok; trustworthy local officials were appointed to manage affairs in the provinces, and improvements were made in the administration of justice throughout the kingdom. The war with Burma was brought to an end in 1792, and in 1809 Cambodia ceded to Siam the frontier province of Battambang. In 1826 Siam signed a treaty of commerce with Great Britain, and seven years later a similar treaty was concluded with the United States. In 1844 there was a brief dispute between Siam and Annam with regard to Cambodia; this dispute ended by Annam's agreeing to recognize Siam's authority as protector of Cambodia. The first three reigns of the dynasty, covering sixty-nine years, saw steady improvement along almost every line; the fourth monarch, Rama IV, completed the work of laying a firm foundation for the future prosperity of his country. In the seventeen years of this reign, 1851–1868, new commercial treaties were concluded with eleven countries of the Western world,[1] while every effort was made to give Siam such

[1] Great Britain, United States, France, Denmark, the Hanseatic towns, Portugal, Holland, Prussia, Belgium, Italy, and the kingdom of Norway and Sweden.

a good government that no foreign power would ever be able to find a pretext for aggressive action.

317. Annam; the Beginnings of French Indo-China. In Chapter XII we followed the history of Annam down to the year 1600, at which date the kingdom became divided into two rival states. The northern state, the capital of which was Hanoi, consisted of the province now known as Tongking; the southern state, of which Hué was the capital, included in its territories the modern provinces of Annam and Cochin China. For nearly two hundred years the two states seldom enjoyed the blessings of peace; sometimes they made war upon each other, but usually both states were torn by internal struggles between rival claimants to their thrones. In the last part of the eighteenth century a ruler of the southern state was driven from Hué and compelled to take refuge in Siam. At Bangkok the fugitive prince, who is known to history as Gia Long, became acquainted with a French missionary bishop who thought he saw in Annam an opportunity for France to compensate herself for the recent loss of her power in India. The outbreak of the French Revolution interfered with the plan of getting help directly from France, but the energetic bishop gathered a strong body of volunteers from among the Frenchmen in India. With this assistance Gia Long returned to Annam, where, after several years of fighting, he succeeded in regaining Hué and in reuniting the two states under a single crown.

The assistance given to Gia Long did not result in any immediate advantage to French interests in the Far East. Until his death in 1820, Gia Long remained grateful for the help which he had received, and employed many Frenchmen in his service; but France during most of this period was fully occupied by the French Revolution and the European wars of Napoleon. Toward the end of Gia Long's reign a strong anti-foreign party developed in Annam, and his successors on the throne adopted a decidedly anti-French policy. Despite this

hostile policy, the French missionaries were able to continue their religious work in the country, and it was the presence of the missionaries which later made it possible for France to gain a permanent foothold in Indo-China. In 1857 Napoleon III sent an expedition against Hué to secure reparation for the execution of a Christian missionary. A year later the French

Tomb of Gia Long at Hué

forces seized Saigon, the chief seaport of Cochin China. Unable to drive the French from Saigon, the Annamese government, in 1862, finally signed a treaty surrendering Cochin China to France. In 1863 a French embassy visited Cambodia and concluded a treaty of friendship with that once powerful state. At this time Cambodia was an unwilling vassal of Siam, and the Cambodian king put himself under the protection of the French. For a while there was grave danger of war between France and Siam; but the Siamese king, Rama IV, realizing that Siam had little hope of carrying on a

successful struggle against a powerful European state, signed a treaty in 1867 by which Cambodia was recognized as a French protectorate. At last, after more than two centuries of disappointment, France succeeded in laying the foundation of a colonial empire in the Far East. During the next forty

HUÉ

The Chinese call Annam "a carrying pole uniting two bags of rice, Tongking and Cochin China." This photograph, taken from an airplane, gives an idea of the country near Hué

years the growth of this empire absorbed all Annam, brought France into war with China, encroached upon the eastern frontiers of Siam, and made "French Indo-China" greater in area than France itself.

318. The European Absorption of Southern Asia. By the middle of the nineteenth century (a few years after the exact middle of the century) the European powers had laid their hands upon the entire southern border of Asia. From the

valley of the Indus to the easternmost islands of the East Indian archipelago they had made remarkable progress in bringing the peoples of southern Asia under their political and economic control. This European absorption of southern Asia, although it was still incomplete, was destined to continue steadily and almost irresistibly. Parts of India, northern Burma, and the greater part of Annam were still independent, but the next half century saw all these regions brought under the domination of the West. Siam alone of all this great and densely populated zone was able to maintain her position as an independent sovereign state, and even Siam was compelled to surrender important parts of her territory to the advancing forces of the West.

QUESTIONS

Who was Alompra? From whom did he receive aid? Why? What foreign conquests did Alompra make? Tell the story of the absorption of Burma by the British. When was this completed? Why did Malacca lose its importance in the East Indian trade? Describe the career of Constantine Faulkon. How was Siam benefited by the reign of Rama I? When and how did the French lay the foundation of their colonial empire in Indo-China?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Is the independence of Siam due primarily to the geography of the country, to rivalry between France and Great Britain, or to the efficiency of the Siamese government?

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CHAPTER XXIV

THE MANCHU ATTEMPT TO CONTROL FOREIGN TRADE AND AGGRESSION IN CHINA

1661.	Accession of Kang Hi
1685.	Kang Hi completes the pacification of China
	All the ports of China are thrown open to foreign trade
1689.	Treaty of Nerchinsk between China and Russia
1717.	Kang Hi's decree against Christianity
1722.	Death of Kang Hi
1736–1796.	Reign of Chien Lung
1792.	The Macartney embassy to Peking
1840–1842.	War between Great Britain and China
1842.	Treaty of Nanking
1850–1865.	The Taiping Rebellion
1858–1860.	The second treaty settlement between China and the West

319. The Nature of the Manchu Rule. The Manchu conquest, although it overthrew the Chinese Ming dynasty and established a line of foreign emperors upon the imperial throne, produced little change in the internal condition of the Chinese Empire. The invaders found in China a well-organized system of government and law; they adopted this political machinery and, with the assistance of the Chinese themselves, proceeded to administer the affairs of the country as they had been administered by the Mings. Industry, art, literature, and education were undisturbed by the change of rulers, and the culture of China under the first four Manchu emperors continued at the high standard attained under the Mings.

In its foreign policy, however, the Chinese state was completely transformed by the accession of the Manchus to the imperial throne. The peaceful Ming emperors were content to maintain friendly relations with their neighbors so long as these neighbors did not attack their dominions; the Manchus

were warriors and conquerors whose ambitions were far from satisfied by the acquisition of the Chinese Empire. Even before the Manchus established themselves at Peking they were the masters of all Manchuria and had brought a large part of Mongolia under their sway. During the century and a half after their seizure of the Chinese capital, they pursued an aggressive policy which extended the frontiers of the empire far beyond the limits set by the Mings.

320. Kang Hi (1661–1722). The first Manchu emperor, Shun Chih, held the imperial power for seventeen years; the greater part of his reign was occupied in bringing the empire under his sway and in adjusting harmonious relations between the victors and the vanquished. In 1661 Shun Chih was succeeded on the throne by his eight-year-old son, Kang Hi; for a few years the government was carried on by a board of regents, but in 1666 the boy emperor took the power into his own hands.

Kang Hi, for sixty-one years the monarch of the largest and most populous empire in the world, must be regarded as one of the great rulers in world history. Ascending the throne of China in the same year that saw Louis XIV assume personal direction of the government of France, he continued to direct the destinies of China for seven years after Louis's death. The greatness of Kang Hi does not rest upon the size of his empire and the length of his reign, but upon his sound statesmanship and good judgment. From early youth he applied himself with equal diligence to the military exercises of the Manchus and to the study of Chinese philosophy and literature. In character and ability, as well as in his success in securing the welfare of his people, Kang Hi was a far greater ruler than his French contemporary. Louis XIV plunged France into a series of disastrous foreign wars which, undertaken merely to satisfy a thirst for glory, left his country exhausted and burdened with a mountainous debt. Kang Hi suppressed the last uprisings of the Ming supporters, and although he undertook

several campaigns against the turbulent peoples of central Asia, China at the end of his reign was prosperous and well governed. Louis XIV, reviving the spirit of religious persecution, attempted to exterminate Protestantism among his subjects. Kang Hi, although he regarded the philosophy of Confucius as the best rule of life, respected the different religious beliefs of the peoples under his sway and for many years even conferred favors upon the foreign teachers of Christianity. Only toward the end of his reign did Kang Hi abandon his tolerant policy toward the Christian religion, and this change, we shall see, was caused by an awakening suspicion with regard to the close connection between the missionaries and the governments of their conquering European homelands.

321. The Last of the Ming Revolts. The early part of the reign of Kang Hi was occupied in suppressing the last armed resistance to the Manchu rule. In 1662 the "pirate-patriot" Koxinga, whose naval power had enabled him to defy the Manchus upon the sea, drove the Dutch from the island of Formosa. From this island base of operations Koxinga ravaged the neighboring portions of the Chinese coast and became so powerful that he even attempted to bring the Philippines under his domination. With the help of the Dutch, Kang Hi's forces succeeded in expelling the pirate leader from the ports which he had occupied on the mainland; but Koxinga and his son resisted for many years all attempts to reconquer Formosa. In 1674 a fresh uprising confronted the young emperor;[1] Wu San-kwei, whose services to the Manchus had been rewarded by appointment as viceroy over the southwestern provinces of the empire, rose in revolt and soon overran the greater part of South China. Although a revolt led by some of the Mongol princes added still further to the difficulties of the situation, Kang Hi finally succeeded in overcoming all his enemies. The Mongol princes were quickly subdued; in 1679 the death of Wu San-kwei put an end to the South China revolt; four years

[1] Kang Hi was still only twenty-one years old.

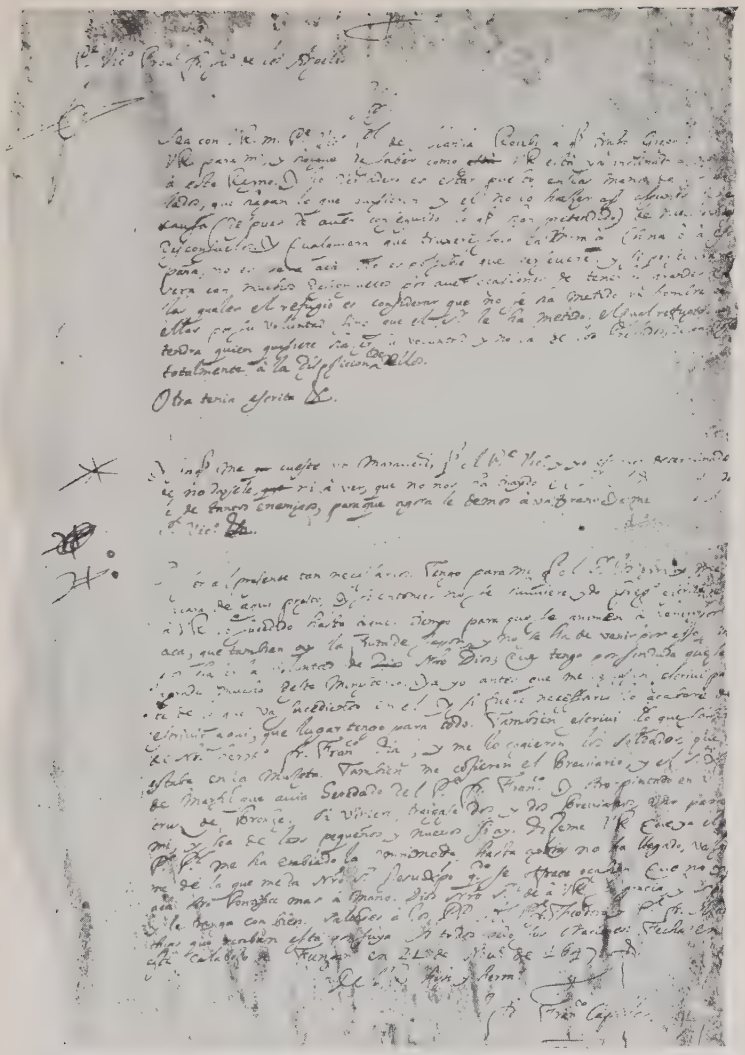
later Koxinga's son submitted to the imperial authority; and by 1685 peace was restored throughout the empire.

322. Kang Hi and the Europeans. Kang Hi's personal relations with the Jesuit missionaries at Peking — Adam Schaal, Ferdinand Verbiest, and their companions — gave him a high regard for these men and for the scientific achievements of the Western world. Schaal and Verbiest were both given honorable employment in the imperial court, and their influence at Peking enabled their fellow missionaries throughout the provinces to obtain very favorable treatment at the hands of local officials. This favorable attitude toward Christian missionaries merely continued the condition which had existed under the last Ming emperors, but in other respects Kang Hi's policy toward the Europeans was more liberal than the policy of the Mings. He was firmly convinced that China would be greatly benefited by the increase of commercial intercourse with the outside world; therefore, in 1685 he repealed the commercial restrictions which had been imposed by the Ming dynasty (§ 249) and threw open to foreign trade all the seaports of China. It was not long, however, before the Manchus discovered that there were good reasons for the restrictive policy adopted by their predecessors. Many of the Europeans who came to the ports of China for purposes of trade were men who thought nothing of violating the laws of their own lands; such men could hardly be expected to show much regard for the sovereign rights of a foreign country. It is not strange that lawlessness and acts of violence on the part of the outsiders were reported by the officials along the coast.

323. Kang Hi's Decree against Christianity. The growing activity of the missionaries, the steady increase in the number of foreign ships arriving at Chinese ports, and the unruly character of the foreigners all combined to awaken the fears and suspicions of the government officials. In 1717 these suspicions were clearly and energetically expressed in a report drawn up by a military officer stationed at Canton. This

officer emphasized the close connection which had existed, in the Philippines and in Japan, between the European governments and their merchants and missionaries. Therefore, in order to safeguard the empire against the danger of invasion he urged the emperor to issue a decree against the further spread of Christianity and to restore the old regulations with regard to foreign trade. The Grand Council of State, to which the report was submitted for consideration, approved the recommendations, and the emperor took action as suggested. Trade was again restricted to the ports of Canton and Macao, where it was to be carried on under new and more careful restrictions. At the same time a decree was issued forbidding any further teaching of the Christian religion and ordering the deportation of all missionaries except those who received special permission to remain in the country. Although the new regulations with regard to trade were promptly enforced, Kang Hi's anti-Christian decree of 1717, like the anti-Christian decree issued by Hideyoshi a hundred and thirty years earlier (§ 279), was intended merely as a warning to the missionaries. So long as they and their converts refrained from political activity they were allowed to remain in peace, but any Christians who created a disturbance in the country were liable henceforth to be treated as outlaws and punished with extreme severity.

324. The Russian Advance in the Far East. The merchants and missionaries who came to the ports of China in ships were not the only Europeans demanding the attention of the Manchu government. For nearly two centuries after the collapse of the Mongol power, land communication between Europe and the Far East had been practically closed; but the last part of the sixteenth century saw the old route being reopened by the eastward movement of the Russians. In 1567, just half a century after the Portuguese had begun to arrive at Canton, a Russian embassy found its way across Asia and made an unsuccessful attempt to establish diplomatic rela-



A Letter written by Friar Francisco de Capillas, an Early Spanish Martyr in China

During the disturbances attending the Manchu conquest, Friar Francisco was put to death in Fukien province. In November, 1647, two months before his death, he wrote this report. (Photograph of the original, by the Bureau of Science, Manila)

tions with the Ming government at Peking. The real beginning of Russia's eastward expansion came fourteen years later. In 1581 a Russian bandit named Yermak crossed the Ural Mountains at the head of a band of Cossacks, and conquered a little state called Sibir, which has since given its name to the vast region known as Siberia. Not long after this notable event Yermak lost his life in a battle against the Siberians, but an ever-increasing number of Russians pressed eastward upon the path which he had opened. Fifty-five years after Yermak first crossed the Urals, his fellow countrymen had reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean; eight years later, at the moment when the Manchus were establishing themselves at Peking, a band of Russians found its way into the valley of the Amur River and came into direct contact with the new rulers of China.

325. Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689). By the time Kang Hi ascended the imperial throne the Russians had erected a fort at the present site of Khabaroffsk, where the Ussuri River joins the Amur, and were establishing colonies at various other points in the Amur valley. The Russian advance was resisted by the Chinese, and considerable fighting took place. After the Russians had suffered several defeats at the hands of the Chinese, a treaty was drawn up by which the boundary between the two empires was fixed at the watershed north of the Amur. This treaty, signed in 1689 at Nerchinsk, was the first treaty concluded between China and any European power. With slight modifications in 1727 and in 1768, the Treaty of Nerchinsk was the basis of the relations between China and Russia until 1858, a hundred and sixty-nine years after it was first signed. In addition to providing for trade between the two countries, the treaty arranged that subjects of either country who committed crimes in the territory of the other were to be arrested and sent to the frontier, to be handed over to the chief local authority of their own country for punishment.

The Treaty of Nerchinsk marked a definite check to the territorial expansion of the Russians, but the commercial privileges which were granted to the Czar's subjects soon resulted in a flourishing caravan trade between the two countries. Peter the Great, who was extremely anxious to improve this friendly relationship with China, sent an embassy to Peking in 1692 and another in 1719. Both embassies were

THE ALTAR OF HEAVEN, PEKING

During five centuries of Chinese history this spot was the center of China's religious life. Here the Ming emperors, and later the Manchu rulers, performed annual sacrifices to the Lord of Heaven

received in audience by Kang Hi, and the second embassy was permitted to leave one of its members at Peking to act as a permanent envoy to the Chinese court.

326. Chien Lung (1736–1796). The reign of Yung Cheng, who succeeded to his father's throne in 1722, was almost totally lacking in important events; but in 1736 Yung Cheng was succeeded by his son Chien Lung. In length of years and in glory of achievement the reign of Chien Lung rivaled that of his grandfather. Tibet, which had been occupied by a Chinese army during the reign of Kang Hi and abandoned during the reign of Yung Cheng, was again occupied and

brought permanently under Chinese control; the country was allowed to retain its old government, but a Chinese Resident at Lhasa had supreme oversight over foreign affairs. Turkestan, which had been a Chinese dependency in the great days of the Tang dynasty, was reconquered in 1760. Even more remarkable than these two achievements was the successful campaign against the Gurkas of Nepal. In 1790 these warlike people invaded Tibet, whose rulers appealed to Chien Lung for protection. A Chinese army of seventy thousand men, which was sent in response to this appeal, not only drove the invaders out of Tibet but even followed them across the mountains into Nepal. Here, in 1792, the Gurkas were so severely defeated that they were compelled to sue for peace and to acknowledge themselves vassals of the Chinese emperor. Twenty-two years later the government of British India found it necessary to send a punitive expedition against these same warlike people of Nepal, and the stern resistance which they met in their campaign of 1814–1815 makes it possible to judge the magnitude of Chien Lung's achievement in 1792.

In 1796, after Chien Lung's sixty-year reign, the empire had reached limits which have never been exceeded at any time in the history of China. Korea, Annam, Siam, Burma, and Nepal were vassal states, while the direct authority of the Peking government was acknowledged in Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, and Turkestan. In spite of his aggressive and successful foreign policy, it is probable that the reign of Chien Lung served to weaken, rather than to strengthen, the position of the Manchus in China. The Chinese people have never been greatly impressed by the glories of foreign conquest, and they have always resented the increased burden of taxation which accompanies war. Thus the victories of Chien Lung's armies were gained at the expense of growing discontent within his realm. In every part of the country there began to appear secret societies which, to the end of the Manchu period, were to be a constant source of trouble and insurrection; and this

growing weakness at home coincided with growing trouble between China and the European powers.

327. Foreign Trade at Canton. Even during the years when all the ports of China were open to foreign commerce, most of the European ships found it more convenient to trade at Canton than at other points along the coast; after 1717, as we have seen, Macao and Canton were the only ports to which they could come without violating the laws of the country. The restrictions imposed upon trade by Kang Hi in 1717 were continued by his successors; yet the sixty years of Chien Lung's reign saw a steady growth in China's commercial relations with the maritime countries of the West. An ever-increasing number of merchant vessels from all the commercial countries of Europe made their way to Canton for the purpose of securing the tea, silks, and other products of the country. Twelve years before the end of Chien Lung's reign the various European flags displayed by the ships in Canton harbor were joined by a new flag. The American Revolution came to an end in 1783; within a year after the recognition of the United States as an independent nation, an American ship arrived at the great trading port of the Chinese Empire. Throughout this period of commercial expansion the Portuguese settlement at Macao steadily declined as a trading port. Almost all the trade was transacted at Canton, while Macao became a mere residential settlement where the foreign merchants lived during the months when they were not actively engaged in business.

328. Chinese Regulation of Trade. At Canton the foreigners were strictly supervised in all their actions. They were not allowed to bring their wives when they came from Macao for the trading season; they were permitted to reside only in the "factories," which were located outside the city walls; they were forbidden to go inside the walls of the city or to have firearms in the factories; twice a month they were allowed to leave the factories for exercise or vacation, but they had to be

accompanied on these occasions by an interpreter to act as their guide and protector. Equally strict were the regulations imposed upon their business affairs. A small number of Chinese merchants, usually called the security merchants, were banded together into an organization known as the Co-hong. When a ship arrived at Macao it was not permitted to proceed to Canton until it had made arrangements with one of the security merchants to manage its affairs. The security merchant then became responsible to the officials for everything, — for payment of customs duties and other fees, for preventing the importation of prohibited goods, and for the behavior of the ship's crew. While each security merchant was especially responsible for the conduct of individual merchants and ships, the entire Co-hong was jointly responsible for the general conduct of the trade. All orders and regulations affecting foreign commerce were issued to the Co-hong by the officials; the Co-hong communicated these orders to the Europeans and was expected to take any steps necessary to secure obedience.

329. Dissatisfaction of the Foreign Merchants. With the steady increase of European interest in world trade, and with the increase in the number of Europeans engaged in trade with China, the regulations imposed upon foreign commerce by the Chinese government aroused more and more dissatisfaction among the foreign merchants at Canton. The Europeans complained because they were allowed to trade only at a single port, and only with a small group of merchants at that one port. They complained because they regarded the conditions under which they were permitted to trade as disgraceful and humiliating. They declared that the duties, fees, and taxes imposed upon the trade ate up all their profits. Most of all, however, they complained because they were not allowed to protest directly to the officials in cases where they had been unjustly treated. Although the dissatisfaction was shared by all the foreign merchants, the British were the most insistent in their demands for improved conditions of residence and trade.

There were two reasons for this: the English East India Company, which had established a permanent factory at Canton in 1689, had quickly acquired the most important part of the trade between China and the West; and the English, in addition to being the leading commercial group at Canton, had the greatest need for an expanding trade. The Industrial Revolution,[1] the effects of which were felt by England earlier than by the other European countries, was already compelling the English to seek constantly expanding markets for their manufactured goods.

330. The Macartney and Amherst Embassies. In 1792 the British government sent to Peking an imposing embassy under Lord Macartney for the purpose of securing additional commercial privileges for British merchants. The embassy was received in audience by Chien Lung, and rich presents were exchanged between the emperor and the ambassador of the British king, but no changes were made in the old trade restrictions. Shortly after the Macartney embassy left Peking, in 1793, war broke out in Europe between Great Britain and the French Republic. During the struggles against revolutionary France and against Napoleon, the British were too busy at home to pay much attention to the Chinese restrictions on trade, but in 1816, the year after the final defeat of Napoleon, a new embassy under Lord Amherst was sent to Peking. The Macartney embassy, although it had accomplished nothing, had been politely received by the Chinese ruler; the Amherst embassy was not even granted an audience. A dispute between the Chinese officials and the British representatives with regard to the ceremony which was to be observed resulted in an order for the ambassador to return to his own land. The complete failure of the Amherst mission is often attributed to the arrogance of Chia Ching, who succeeded his father upon the throne in 1796; but the Chinese govern-

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, chap. xxxi. Ginn and Company, 1924.

ment was thoroughly determined to make no changes in its regulations for the control of trade.

331. Opium. While the foreign merchants were becoming more and more discontented with the conditions under which they were allowed to trade at Canton, the Chinese government felt that there were good reasons for making even more stringent regulations to govern the trade. These people, who had been permitted to enter the country for purposes of peaceful commerce, refused to submit to Chinese jurisdiction and persistently violated Chinese law. But the chief cause for the government's dissatisfaction with the foreigners was the rapidly growing trade in opium.

Opium, which is produced from the juice of the poppy plant, had been known to the Chinese as a useful drug for many centuries before the arrival of the Europeans, and opium for medicinal purposes was first imported from India in the fifteenth century. The practice of smoking opium mixed with tobacco is said to have originated among the Dutch in the island of Formosa, where this use was found to be valuable as a means of warding off malaria. From Formosa the smoking of opium with tobacco spread to the mainland of China, where the Chinese gradually began to smoke pure opium. Since the opium-smoking habit was extremely injurious to the people, the government made repeated efforts to stamp out this use of the drug.

332. Chinese Attempts to stop the Opium Trade. Finally, in 1800 an edict was issued prohibiting the importation of opium for any purpose whatever. In spite of these efforts, the importation and use of opium rapidly increased; the drug was brought from India in foreign ships (most of them English) and was smuggled into the country with the permission of Chinese officials, who received large bribes from the smugglers. Although this illegal trade was carried on with the assistance of bribed Chinese officials, the Chinese government insisted that the foreigners were entirely to blame, because they were

bringing the drug from India to the Chinese ports; indeed, they looked upon the bribery of the government officers as a good reason for continuing the rule which forbade the officials to have any direct communication with the foreign merchants. The Europeans, on the other hand, insisted that the government was not honestly trying to stop the trade, that the highest officials at Peking were receiving a share of the bribes, and that if China could not prevent her own officials from taking part in the trade, the foreigners had a perfect right to bring in their ships anything which the Chinese people were willing to buy.

333. Lord Napier, British Superintendent of Trade. Until 1834 the English East India Company had a complete monopoly of British trade with China, but in that year the British government decided to throw open the China trade to all British merchants. When the Chinese authorities were informed of this decision they replied that a "headman" would have to be appointed by the British to serve as the spokesman for the British merchants. What the Chinese meant was that one of the British merchants should be given authority to act as the representative of his fellows, but the British government seized upon this request as an opportunity for opening direct official relations with the government officers at Canton. Lord Napier, a high officer of the British government, was sent to Canton as superintendent of trade with two subordinates. These three officials were to establish a court with jurisdiction over all British subjects in China, and Lord Napier received definite instructions to notify the viceroy at Canton by letter of his arrival. But the Chinese authorities refused to allow the British thus to modify the laws of China. When Lord Napier proceeded from Macao to Canton without taking the trouble to secure the necessary permit to make the trip, and attempted to send a letter directly to the viceroy, the viceroy refused to receive the letter and ordered that trade with the British be stopped until the "barbarian headman" had withdrawn from the factories. Lord Napier died at

Macao shortly after his forced withdrawal from Canton, and his successors adopted a more conciliatory policy toward the Chinese authorities; but the conflict between the two countries could not long be delayed. The British were determined to force upon China a more liberal commercial policy and to compel the Chinese government to recognize Great Britain as China's equal. The Chinese, on the other hand, were equally determined to make no change in their policy or in their attitude toward the outside world.

334. Commissioner Lin and the Opium Trade. The actual conflict arose out of the opium trade. The abolition of the East India Company's monopoly of British trade resulted in a rapid increase in the amount of opium smuggling. The imperial government therefore sent a "high commissioner" to Canton with instructions to stamp out the trade. This new official, Lin Tse-hsi, went about his task in a most vigorous manner. Arriving at Canton in March, 1839, he ordered the foreign merchants to deliver up all the opium in their possession. When this order was not obeyed, he blockaded the foreigners in their factories, shut off their food supply, ordered all Chinese to withdraw from their employment, and repeated his demand for the surrender of the opium. After some further delay, during which Lord Napier's successor as British superintendent of trade attempted to debate the question, the imprisoned merchants complied with the high commissioner's demand. More than twenty thousand chests of opium were handed over to the Chinese authorities; the foreigners in the factories were then allowed to withdraw to Macao, while the confiscated opium was carefully destroyed. Commissioner Lin now attempted to prevent any revival of the trade. He issued a proclamation stating that henceforth no ship would be permitted to come to Canton unless its commander gave a solemn promise never to bring opium to the China coast; any violation of this pledge would be punished by the confiscation of the ship and its entire cargo.

335. War with Great Britain. When the news of Commissioner Lin's actions reached England the British government decided that this treatment of British merchants at Canton[1] was an insult to the national honor of Great Britain. An expedition was therefore dispatched to the Far East. In June, 1840, a British fleet blockaded the port of Canton, and a state of war existed between the countries. The Chinese believed then, and still believe, that the British government made war upon them on account of opium; this belief has been shared by many neutral historians and even by some English writers, so that the war is often called the Opium War. The British government, however, insisted that the seizure of the opium was merely an incident in the long dispute between Great Britain and China; that the real purpose of the war was to compel the Chinese government to respect the rights of the British nation, and to guarantee humane treatment to British subjects on Chinese soil. The Chinese could offer little resistance to the military and naval forces of their enemy. The war dragged on for more than two years. In the summer of 1842, however, the British fleet entered the Yangtze River, and in August, 1842, the Chinese government was forced to conclude a treaty of peace (Treaty of Nanking, August 29, 1842).

336. The First Treaty Settlement (1842–1844). The Treaty of Nanking was followed during the next two years by commercial treaties with Great Britain, with France, and with the United States. These four treaties completely changed the conditions under which the merchants of the West were to live and trade in China. The British, having defeated the Chinese in war, obtained two things for which the Americans and the French made no demand: an indemnity of $21,000,000 "Mexican" ($6,000,000 of this amount being demanded as compensation for the destroyed opium, the remaining $15,000,000 for the costs of the war) and the cession of Hongkong, a small

[1] Most of the opium was owned by British merchants, and the British superintendent of trade was among those imprisoned in the factories.

island near the mouth of the Canton River. All the other advantages of this first treaty settlement were enjoyed equally by the three Western countries. Canton and four other ports — Shanghai, Amoy, Ningpo, and Foochow — were declared open to foreign trade and residence. At these five "treaty ports," as they were henceforth called, the foreign powers had the right of maintaining consular officers, with whom the Chinese local officials were obliged to communicate directly and on a basis of equality. Jurisdiction over the foreigners at these ports was taken from the Chinese officials and given to the foreign consuls, who were to decide all cases of crime, as well as all civil disputes, in accordance with the laws of their own lands.[1] The Co-hong at Canton was abolished, and China was forbidden to create any similar monopoly at Canton or at the other four ports. Instead of being free to levy upon the trade such customs duties as it pleased, the Chinese government was allowed to collect only a five per cent tariff on imports and exports.

337. Most-Favored-Nation Clauses. The three foreign powers were all anxious to prevent their rivals from obtaining any special advantages for the future. Each of the commercial treaties, therefore, contained a clause known as a "most-favored-nation clause," whereby China agreed that the citizens or subjects of the country signing the treaty would be entitled to all the rights and privileges granted in the past or which might be granted in the future to any other nation. From the date of this first treaty settlement until the close of the World War, all the treaties which have been concluded with China have contained this most-favored-nation clause; consequently every right that has been secured by the diplomats of one country has been enjoyed by all the countries having treaties with China.

[1] This arrangement, whereby the government of one country exercises jurisdiction over its citizens within the territory of another, is known as extra-territoriality.

338. The Continuation of the Conflict. Although this first treaty settlement made important changes in the conditions of trade and residence in China, the conflict between China and the West was not finished. The Chinese people and the Chinese officials, especially at Canton, still regarded the foreigners as barbarians and refused to acknowledge the justice of the new treaties. On the other hand, many of the foreigners were soon claiming rights which treaties did not give them. Since the American treaty of 1844 contained a clause providing for treaty revision at the end of twelve years, the British (by virtue of the most-favored-nation clause in their treaty) claimed the same right. The Chinese government, however, wanted no more treaty negotiations and refused to appoint representatives to discuss the matter. As the British were especially determined to have certain changes in their treaty and were willing to fight, if necessary, to secure these changes, all that they needed was a satisfactory pretext for war. In 1856 the viceroy of Canton provided them with the necessary excuse: he arrested the Chinese crew of a Chinese-owned vessel, which was flying the British flag, and held the men for trial on charges of piracy. The vessel in question carried the British flag only by virtue of a permit from the Hongkong government, and its permit had actually expired before the arrest took place; but the British government insisted that the viceroy's action was a deliberate insult to the national honor and that the insult must be avenged by war. This was merely the pretext for the war; the real reason was the British government's determination to compel an improvement in the existing treaties with China.

339. The Second Treaty Settlement (1858–1860). The outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny (§ 311) made it necessary for Great Britain to send to India the expedition which was intended for China, and the Chinese war was delayed until 1858. By this time the French had sent forces to avenge the death of a French missionary in the interior of China, so China's second war with

the Europeans was against the combined forces of Great Britain and France. The allied powers attempted to secure the coöperation of Russia and the United States, but these two countries refused to take part in the hostilities, although their diplomatic representatives accompanied the Anglo-French expedition northward in order to take advantage of any opportunity for treaty revision. Since the Chinese government was endeavoring at this moment to suppress the Taiping Rebellion (§ 343), it offered practically no resistance to the European forces. Therefore the British, French, Russian, and American ministers were able to conclude a series of treaties at Tientsin. These treaties added a number of new ports to those which were already open for trade, pledged the Chinese government to permit and to protect the Christian religion in the empire, and gave the treaty powers the right to send envoys to Peking.

A Fragment of the Ruined Yuen-ming-yuen

Crumbling walls and shattered columns mark the spot where this beautiful palace once stood

The British treaty provided that the formal exchange of ratifications, the ceremony by which each government notified the other of its acceptance of the treaty, should take place within a year at Peking; under the most-favored-nation clause this

right was also claimed by the other three foreign powers. The Russian minister, coming by the old caravan trade route from Kiakhta, had no difficulty in reaching the Chinese capital; but the American, British, and French ministers, when they arrived at the mouth of the Peiho (the river by which they expected to go to Tientsin and Peking), were informed that the river had been fortified against danger of attack by the Taiping rebels and that the envoys must proceed to Peking by land from a port some distance north of the river mouth. The American minister agreed to this arrangement, but the British and French, attempting to force an entrance to the Peiho, were repulsed with heavy losses. In 1860 the British and French avenged this repulse by sending an expedition strong enough to force its way to Peking. The imperial summer palace (the famous Yuen-ming-yuen, completed in the reign of Chien Lung) was destroyed by the allies as punishment for a Chinese violation of the flag of truce during the Anglo-French advance, while the Chinese government was forced to ratify the treaties signed at Tientsin and to agree to several new clauses. An additional war indemnity was paid to cover the costs of the expedition; China was forced to cede to Great Britain a portion of Kowloon peninsula (immediately opposite the island of Hongkong); and — most important of all the new concessions — the four treaty powers received the right of maintaining *resident* ministers at the Chinese capital.

340. The Imperial Maritime Customs. In 1853, when the Taipings captured Shanghai and overthrew the imperial administration at that port, a committee of three had been appointed by the foreign consuls to collect for the Chinese government the import and export duties on foreign trade. This temporary arrangement worked so satisfactorily that the treaties of 1858 provided for the permanent organization of a new customs service under foreign management. The new customs service, the Imperial Maritime Customs, was organized and directed by a number of foreign officials in the employ

of the Chinese government. At first its activities were confined to the single port of Shanghai, but gradually it was extended until the trade at all the treaty ports was brought under its control. The efficiency and honesty of the Imperial Maritime Customs resulted in larger revenues for the central government, and the fact that it was administered by foreigners put an end to much of the trouble between the Chinese government and the foreign traders.

341. Russia's Progress in the Far East. Even before the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1680) the eastward advance of the Russians had reached the Pacific Ocean; the century and a half which followed the conclusion of that treaty saw a steady expansion of Russian influence throughout Siberia and along the northern shores of the Pacific. Early in the eighteenth century this eastward expansion carried the Russians even beyond the eastern limits of Asia. In 1728 Vitus Bering, a Danish captain in the service of Russia, explored the strait which now bears his name; thirteen years later the same intrepid explorer found his way eastward to the coast of Alaska, thus establishing Russia's first claim to this portion of the American continent. Bering's discovery of Alaska opened up valuable new fields for trappers and fur traders and resulted in a rapid increase in what was already the chief industry of Asiatic Russia. The skins from Siberia and Alaska found a ready market at Kiakhta. Here they were exchanged with the Chinese for tea, silk, porcelain ware, cotton cloth, and other Chinese products, for which there was always a demand in Russia. By 1775 the trade at Kiakhta had grown so great that the Russian trappers were not able to keep up with the demand for furs; thousands of skins from the Hudson's Bay Company were therefore imported into Russia, by way of England, and were shipped eastward to Kiakhta, where they were exchanged for Chinese commodities.

342. The Russo-Chinese Treaties of 1858 and 1860. Until the middle of the nineteenth century the Russian govern-

ment was satisfied with the boundary which had been fixed by its old treaty with China; but Russia's defeat by the British and French in the Crimean War of 1854–1856 [1] put an end to Russian expansion toward the Mediterranean and turned the attention of the Czar's government to the affairs of the Far East. While the Crimean War was being fought, a brilliant young Russian officer named Muravieff was sent to the Far East to defend Kamchatka against a possible Anglo-French attack. Muravieff cultivated friendly relations with the Chinese; taking advantage of China's growing trouble with the British and the French, he succeeded in negotiating a treaty at Aigun (May 29, 1858) by which the Chinese government agreed that the Amur River, from its source to its junction with the Ussuri, should become the boundary between the two empires. A month later Count Putiatin signed a treaty at Tientsin which gave Russia all of the rights that were secured by America, France, and Great Britain in their treaties. Finally, on November 14, 1860, Muravieff persuaded the Chinese government to cede to Russia the maritime province of Siberia, the region lying east of the Amur and Ussuri rivers and including the present port of Vladivostok. These treaties were all ratified by the Chinese government. Russia, without any threat of force and without arousing Chinese hostility, thus gained far more than the British and French were able to obtain through their military operations of 1858, 1859, and 1860.

343. The Taiping Rebellion. There already have been references (§§ 339, 340) to the fact that the Chinese government, at the time of the war against Great Britain and France, was also struggling against a rebellion inside the country. The Taiping Rebellion, which started in 1850 in the southern part of China and spread northward into the Yangtze valley, was the most serious outbreak that had disturbed the peace of the Chinese

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, §§ 818–819. Ginn and Company, 1924.

Empire since the death of Wu San-kwei. The leader of this rebellion, a man named Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, was an unsuccessful scholar who, after several failures to pass the literary examinations, had come under the influence of an American missionary at Canton and had received some instruction in the doctrines of Christianity. Leaving the mission before he was ready for baptism, Hung returned to his home, where he formed a society for the worship of the "Supreme God." The new society, which soon had several thousand members, showed such intolerant zeal in destroying temples and smashing idols that the officials of the district attempted to suppress it by force. The soldiers were defeated, and Hung found himself at the head of a growing revolution. Gathering around him all the discontented people of the regions through which he passed, the rebel leader pushed northward toward the Yangtze valley. In September, 1852, he arrived with a powerful army at Changsha, the capital of Hunan province.

344. Establishment of the Rebel Capital at Nanking. The strong walls of Changsha resisted all attacks by the rebel army; but here Hung proclaimed himself emperor of China, giving to his dynasty the auspicious name "Tai Ping," meaning "Great Peace." From Changsha the Taiping army swept down the Yangtze valley, capturing city after city, until finally, in March, 1853, they stormed the city of Nanking, the ancient capital of the early Ming emperors. From Nanking the Taiping emperor sent an unsuccessful expedition northward against Peking and Tientsin, while more successful efforts were made to extend the Taiping power over the provinces at the mouth of the Yangtze. Hung did not stop at proclaiming himself emperor of China; he also proceeded to claim membership in a new Christian Trinity. According to his decrees God was the "Heavenly Father," Christ, the "Celestial Elder Brother," and Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, the "Divine Younger Brother." After he had gained control of Nanking this deified emperor quickly developed all the char-

acteristics of a despot, surrounding himself with a numerous harem and leaving to his lieutenants the active leadership of the Taiping armies. The missionaries, who for a while had looked upon the rebellion as a genuine Christian movement,

A "Street" in Soochow

Soochow was for a number of years one of the most important Taiping strongholds. Because of the many canals which intersect the city, it is often called the Venice of China

soon repudiated the Taiping chief; but the Chinese government long continued to regard the rebellion as an event for which the foreign religion was responsible.

345. The Suppression of the Taipings. The imperial troops in the Yangtze valley had been swept away by the first triumphant rush of the Taiping forces, and more than seven years elapsed before any progress was made toward suppressing the rebellion. The representatives of the treaty powers decided to maintain a policy of neutrality in the struggle between the

government and the rebels. In 1860, however, a young American adventurer named Frederick Townsend Ward, disregarding the commands of the American authorities, organized a force to assist the Chinese in driving the Taipings from the region around Shanghai. Ward's first successful move was the capture of Sung-kiang, which he accomplished at the head of an "army" consisting of a hundred men, chiefly Filipinos, and two European officers. After this first victory over the Taipings, Ward recruited a large number of Chinese soldiers, armed and drilled in accordance with Western military methods. For about two years he led this army against the rebels with such unfailing success that an imperial decree conferred upon the force the honorable name of "Ever-Victorious Army." In September, 1862, Ward died from wounds which he received in battle, and the Ever-Victorious Army was placed under the command of an English colonel, Charles George Gordon.[1] A few months before Ward's death Li Hung-chang, who later became one of China's greatest statesmen, was appointed governor of Kiangsu province, the province in which both Shanghai and Nanking are located. Li was an energetic official and organized a strong force of "regular" Chinese troops to coöperate with the Ever-Victorious Army under Ward and his successor. One city after another was retaken from the rebels; in July, 1864, Nanking was taken, and the following May saw the extermination of the last scattered Taiping forces.

346. China in 1860. For more than two centuries the Manchus had ruled the Chinese Empire, extending its territories even beyond the boundaries which existed in the great days of the Tang dynasty; in 1860 their pride was dragged in the dust. Before 1840 the imperial government had determined the conditions upon which the foreigner should be allowed to

[1] He was killed at Khartum in 1885. See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, § 877. Ginn and Company, 1924.

enter the land; after 1860 the conditions of foreign residence and trade in China were regulated by treaties which China had been compelled to sign at the point of the bayonet. Nearly a hundred and fifty years had elapsed since Kang Hi, reversing his earlier policy of encouraging foreign trade, had decided to place restrictions upon these dangerous visitors from beyond the sea; now the West, taking the matter into its own hands, had forced open the markets which were becoming more and more necessary to the economic life of the Western world. Nor were the Chinese long in making use of the Europeans. Even while the Western representatives were dictating humiliating terms of peace at Peking, the officials in the Yangtze valley were securing Western assistance against the Taiping rebels.

The forcible opening of China's doors was not pleasing to the Chinese people or to the government; conflicts were to occur between China and the West; but 1860 marks the beginning of a new era in the history of the Chinese Empire.

QUESTIONS

I. What was the domestic policy of the Manchus? How did their foreign policy differ from that of the Mings? Name a European contemporary of Kang Hi. In what ways was Kang Hi a great ruler? Compare Louis XIV and Kang Hi. Who was the "pirate-patriot"? From what you have learned in an earlier chapter, and in the present one, tell the story of Wu San-kwei and the Manchus.

II. What was Kang Hi's early policy toward the Europeans? Why did he change this policy? When did the Russian outposts reach the shores of the Pacific? Give the chief provisions of the Treaty of Nerchinsk. What were the results of Chien Lung's military activities in central Asia?

III. Describe the conditions of trade at Canton. Why were the Europeans dissatisfied with these conditions? Why did the English take the lead in demanding improved conditions? Tell the story of the Macartney and Amherst missions.

IV. How did opium become a cause for dispute? What measures did Commissioner Lin take for stamping out the opium trade? Give the most important results of the treaty settlement of 1842–1844.

V. What was the real cause of Britain's second war with China? Outline the results of the second treaty settlement between China and the West. Describe the trade at Kiakhta. When and how did Russia get the maritime province of Siberia? Locate this territory on the map.

VI. What was the Taiping Rebellion? How long did it last? Why was 1860 a turning-point in Chinese history? When and under whom did Filipino soldiers fight in China?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Compare the foreign policy of China between 1644 and 1860 with the foreign policy of Japan between 1540 and 1640.

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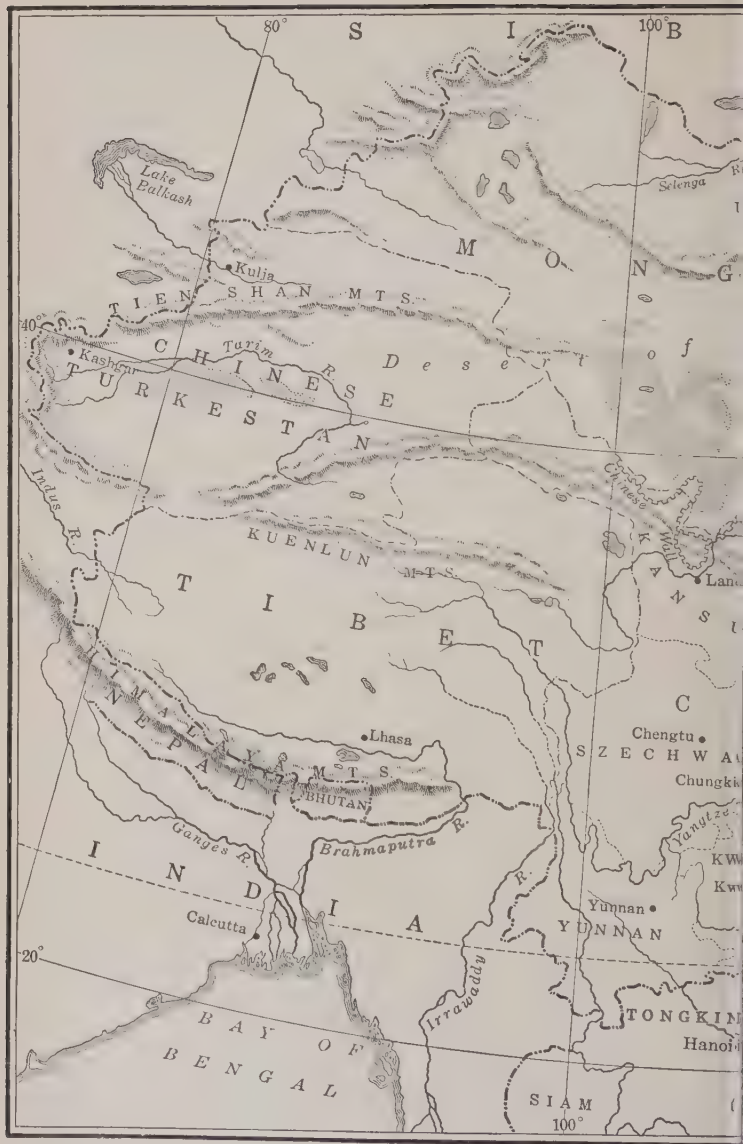

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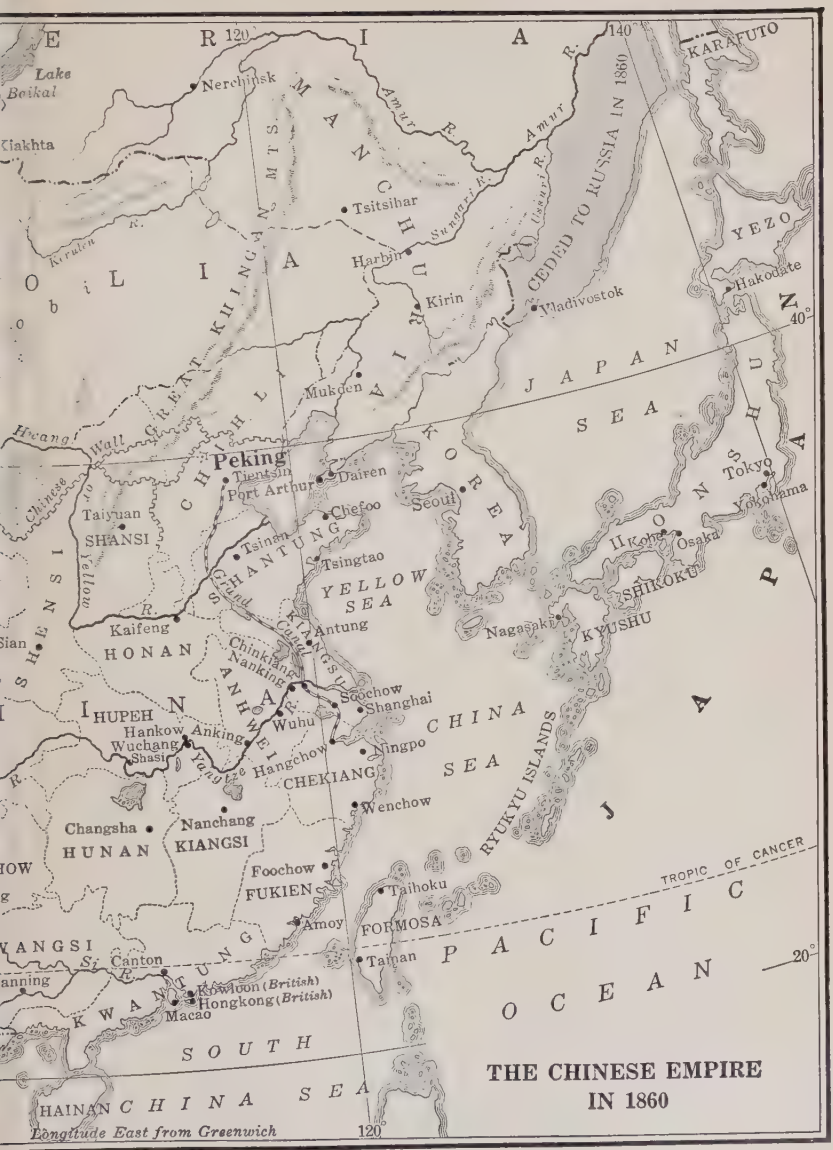


THE CHINESE EMPIRE IN 1860

CHAPTER XXV

THE REOPENING AND WESTERNIZATION OF JAPAN

1853. Commodore Perry arrives at the Bay of Yedo (July 8)
1854. Perry negotiates a treaty with Japan
1867. Accession of Emperor Mutsuhito
1867. End of the Shogunate (November 3)
1868. Tokyo becomes the imperial capital
1871. Abolition of feudalism in Japan
1873. Repeal of the laws against Christianity
1875. Creation of the "Genro-in," the first assembly
1889. Japan receives a constitution

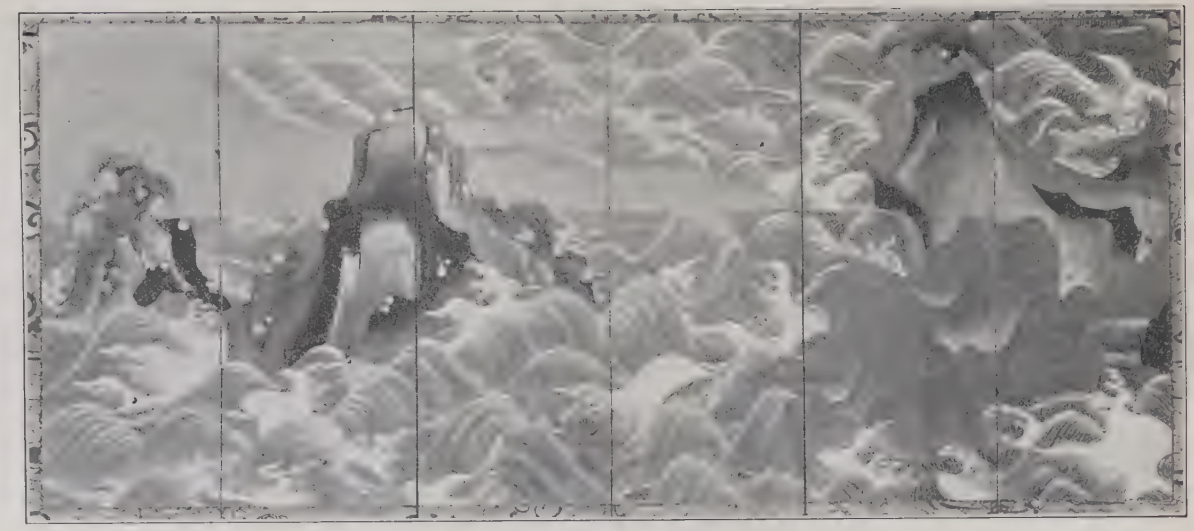
347. The Tokugawa Seclusion. From 1641, when the Tokugawa government forced the Dutch to leave Hirado and move their commercial headquarters to the tiny island of Deshima (§ 288), Japan enjoyed more than two centuries of almost total seclusion. The handful of Dutch merchants at Deshima and a few Chinese traders, who were subjected to equally strict supervision, were the only connecting links between Japan and the outside world. Shut off from all foreign intercourse, except such as was maintained through these Dutch and Chinese merchants, Japan had settled down to a period of unbroken internal peace. The Tokugawa system, so carefully organized by Iyeyasu, enabled the Shoguns to suppress any Daimyo who might long for a return to the good old days of unrestrained private war, or who might feel inspired to rebel against the powers of the Yedo government (§ 275). The Samurai, the "two-sword" men who composed the military caste of the nation, were kept always ready for war; but generation after generation grew old and died without having an opportunity to practice their profession.

Seclusion and peace gave Japan an opportunity to recover from the bitter internal struggles which had come to an end

only with the establishment of Tokugawa rule. In the absence of war, people turned their minds to the arts of peace. Industry, literature, art, religion, and philosophy occupied the energies of able men who, in former days, would have been engaged in fighting and intrigue. The memory of old local feuds died out, and sectional jealousies were replaced by a new spirit of nationalism. This growth of national spirit was fostered by a change in the religious ideas of the country. For a while the suppression of Christianity had been followed by a Buddhist revival; but it was not long before the influence of Buddhism began to be replaced by a combination of Confucianism and Shinto. The social philosophy of Confucius became the basis of Japanese etiquette and morals, while the revival of Shinto recalled the people to the worship of the old national deities.

Although beneficial to Japan, the results of seclusion and peace meant a gradual weakening of the foundations upon which the Tokugawa power had been erected. Two centuries of peace deprived the warrior of the position which he once held in Japanese society. The nonmilitary classes began to look down upon the Samurai and to question the necessity of government by a military organization. Nationalism and the revival of the Shinto religion began to awaken a new interest in the emperor, who, as the direct descendant of the Sun Goddess, was regarded as the only lawful ruler of the state.

348. Japan Reopened. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century the Western nations made repeated efforts to draw Japan from her long-continued seclusion. Great Britain, Russia, and the United States attempted to secure commercial privileges at Japanese ports, while the Dutch government made efforts to obtain for its merchants at Nagasaki some improvement in the humiliating conditions under which they were allowed to trade. After the close of China's first war with Great Britain the knocking at Japan's closed doors became especially persistent; between 1844 and 1849 seven attempts were made,



THE KORIN WAVE SCREEN

By Ogata Korin, an artist of the Koetsu school. (Original in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

by Americans, British, or Dutch, to open official communication with the government of the island empire. All these efforts failed; the Tokugawa officials, realizing the weakness of their control over the country, steadily refused to take any step which might create fresh difficulties. One of these Western powers, however, was unwilling to accept "no" as an answer. In 1848, as a result of the war with Mexico, the United States had obtained possession of California, with its splendid harbor of San Francisco. By 1850 California was ready to be admitted into the Union as a state, while San Francisco had become a flourishing seaport, anxious to develop trans-pacific trade with the treaty ports of China. Even before this time the American whaling ships in the Pacific had felt the need of a Japanese port at which they might stop for supplies and repairs; now the merchants of San Francisco wanted the right to stop at the ports of Japan on their long voyages to the coast of China.

PILGRIMS CLIMBING FUJIYAMA

Fujiyama is climbed annually by thousands of Japanese pilgrims. Since the country has been reopened, many foreigners also have ascended Japan's sacred mountain

In 1852, therefore, the president of the United States dispatched Commodore M. C. Perry to secure for American ships

the right to call at certain Japanese ports. On July 8, 1853, Commodore Perry and an American squadron — the first steamships that the Japanese had ever seen — steamed into Yedo Bay and delivered to the Shogun's officers a letter from President Fillmore. After a brief stay, Perry and his "black ships" proceeded to China, leaving the Japanese authorities to debate their reply; but the following summer he reappeared in Yedo Bay to hear their decision. Despite the vigorous opposition of the Daimyos, the Yedo authorities agreed to a treaty which opened Shimoda and Hakodate to American ships, and which gave to the United States the right to maintain a consul at the first of these ports with jurisdiction over American citizens. The British, the Russians, and the Dutch followed close upon the heels of Perry. All succeeded in negotiating treaties similar to the one between the Shogun and the Americans, and Japan, after two hundred years of seclusion, was once more open to intercourse with the world.

349. Agitations against the Shogunate. The Shogun and his ministers had concluded these treaties without seeking the approval of the emperor. In so doing, they merely assumed the same authority as had been exercised two centuries earlier, when a previous Tokugawa Shogun had decreed the expulsion of all foreigners from the empire; but the Yedo government in 1853 no longer enjoyed the unquestioned power that had been held by Iyeyasu and his immediate successors. Led by a powerful group of Western clans, the opponents of the Shogunate seized upon the new foreign policy as an excuse for denouncing the Tokugawa tyranny and demanded that no foreigners be permitted to set foot upon the sacred soil of Japan. "Exalt the Sovereign and expel the barbarian" became the watchword of the Imperialist party, which included all the enemies of the Tokugawas.

350. Anti-Foreign Demonstrations. The Shogun now found himself in a very difficult position. In his negotiations with the foreign powers he had assumed the title "Tycoon" ("Great

Prince") and had posed as the actual emperor of Japan; therefore the Western governments were sure to hold him directly responsible for any violation of their newly obtained treaty rights. But the Imperialists, who refused to recognize the legality of the treaties, kept the Tokugawa officials busy apologizing for anti-foreign outrages and explaining their inability to maintain order throughout the empire. In 1862 a member of the British legation staff was killed near Yokohama by the retainers of the Satsuma Daimyo, who was on his way to Yedo; a year later the Daimyo of Choshu, whose territories overlooked the Strait of Shimonoseki, fortified the strait and opened cannon fire upon all foreign vessels attempting to pass. Both of these attacks were severely punished: the first by a British bombardment of Kagoshima; the second by an international naval attack upon the Shimonoseki forts. Moreover, the Western representatives, having discovered that the Shogun was not the real sovereign of Japan, were endeavoring to open direct negotiations with the imperial court at Kyoto in order to obtain more satisfactory treaty arrangements.

351. The Accession of a New Emperor and the End of the Shogunate. In 1866 a new Tokugawa Shogun fell heir to the difficult problems of the Yedo government. A year later the death of the emperor, Komei, brought to the throne at Kyoto a new emperor, the fourteen-year-old Mutsuhito. The leaders of the powerful Western clans — Satsuma, Choshu, Hizen, and Tosa — now demanded the Shogun's resignation, to which demand the Shogun complied on November 3, 1867. Nine days later, on November 12, the following imperial decree was issued: "Tokugawa Keiki's proposal to restore the administrative authority to the Imperial Court is accepted by the Emperor." After two hundred and sixty-four years, the last of the Tokugawa Shoguns laid down the power which had been assumed in 1603 by the great Iyeyasu; after nearly seven hundred years the office of Shogun, created by Yoritomo in 1192, ceased to exist.

352. The Meiji Era. The long reign of Emperor Mutsuhito (1867–1912), which is known as the era of Meiji ("Enlightened Rule"), was a combination of conservative restoration and radical reform. On the one hand, the leaders of the movement by which the emperor had been restored to power reestablished the old institutions created in the seventh century by the Taikwa reformers (§§ 81, 82); but, on the other hand, the Meiji reformers, having carefully examined the Western methods of government, gradually introduced into Japan such Western political institutions as might be expected to strengthen the government or to improve the administration of the empire. The abolition of the Shogunate was followed four years later by the abolition of the old feudal Daimyos. Pensions were bestowed upon the dispossessed lords as partial compensation for the revenues of which they were deprived, while many of them were later made members of a newly created nobility; but the reformers were determined that the decentralizing power of feudalism should be completely destroyed. In place of the old feudal divisions governed by the Daimyos, the country was reorganized into prefectures, divisions, and districts, which were placed under the care of administrative officials appointed by the central government.

353. Political Changes of the Meiji Era. These steps merely restored to the emperor the powers which had fallen into the hands of the old military aristocracy, but the Meiji statesmen soon began to introduce innovations. In 1868 the imperial court left Kyoto and transferred its headquarters to the Tokugawa city of Yedo, renamed Tokyo. This move, which freed the emperor from the conservative influence of the old capital, was followed by a gradual introduction of new political methods and ideas. The next year the young emperor, in the famous Charter Oath, promised to convoke a national assembly; in 1873 the prohibition against the Christian religion was removed; in 1875 the first assembly — "Genro-in," or Senate — was created for the purpose of discussing and de-

ciding questions of legislation. Since the Genro-in was appointed, not elected, the liberal element soon began to agitate for an elective body of representatives; in 1889, therefore, the new constitution provided for an Imperial Diet consisting of two houses, the members of the lower house being elected by the people. In theory and in law the emperor was still the absolute ruler of the empire; but the Imperial Diet had become

THE AKASAKA PALACE, TOKYO

Residence of the Japanese crown prince. This palace, completed in 1913, illustrates the extent to which modern Japan has been influenced by Western ideas. The plans were drawn by a Japanese architect who had been educated in France. (Photograph by Underwood and Underwood)

an important part of the government, and the wishes of the people, as voiced through the elected members, often exerted great influence upon the decisions of the imperial ministers.

354. Westernization of Japan. Even more important than these changes in Japan's governmental institutions were the Western ideas of law, education, industry, and commerce which found their way into the country as soon as the new imperial government had accepted the policy of free intercourse with

the European world. A national educational system was organized, based upon the school systems of the West. Western styles in clothing and in architecture became popular. Railroads, telegraphs, a government postal system, and a system of national banks were established. Factories grew up, and the factory system began to take the place of the older methods of manufacturing. The feudal military forces were replaced by a modern army organized, armed, and drilled according to Western methods, and a beginning was made in the development of a modern navy. Experts from abroad were employed to assist in all these undertakings; students were sent to Western countries to be educated in Western science or to become acquainted with Western methods; and the people at home were encouraged to acquire all possible information from the foreigners who visited the empire. Slowly at first, but with gradually increasing speed, Japan was transforming herself — at least in commercial, industrial, and military affairs — into a powerful Westernized nation.

QUESTIONS

How did the Tokugawa rule benefit Japan? Why is 1853 an important date in Japanese history? What were the causes of the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate? How was the Japanese feudal system abolished? What was the Charter Oath? Describe the changes in government that were made during the Meiji Era. What is meant by the "Westernization" of Japan?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Compare the Meiji Era in Japan with the reign of Peter the Great in Russia.

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PART V. DEVELOPMENT OF ORIENTAL RESISTANCE TO THE AGGRESSIONS OF THE WEST

(1860–1926)

CHAPTER XXVI

AMERICAN INFLUENCE ENTERS THE ORIENT. THE PHILIPPINES SECURE SELF-GOVERNMENT

1830. Manila is opened to foreign merchants
1869. Completion of the Suez Canal has an important influence upon the Philippines
1896. Beginning of revolt against Spain
1898. Battle of Manila Bay; Admiral Dewey destroys the Spanish fleet (May 1)
Spain cedes the Philippines to the United States (December 10)
1901. William H. Taft becomes the first American civil governor of the Philippines (July 4)
1907. The meeting of the first Philippine Assembly (October 16)
1909. Free trade between the Philippines and the United States
1916. The Jones Bill (August 29)

355. Commercial Development. For the Philippine Islands, as for the other regions of the Far East, the second half of the nineteenth century was a period of change and development. First in importance, because of its influence upon development along all lines, was the steadily increasing intercourse with the outside world. The opening of Manila to foreign merchants, in 1830, had been followed by a great expansion of commerce and by a demand for further concessions. In 1855 and in 1862 five additional Philippine ports were thrown open. The com-

pletion of the Suez Canal, in 1869,[1] greatly increased trade between Europe and the entire Orient, including the Philippines. The rapid development of commerce with Europe was accompanied by the steady development of the Filipino middle class, which became increasingly interested in political questions.

This growth of commercial and political interests soon led to a decline in the influence of the religious authorities, particularly with respect to education. For almost exactly three centuries most of the schools in the Philippines had been those which the Church maintained, chiefly for the purpose of training Filipinos for the clergy. Now there was a demand for schools in which children should be educated by the State. In 1863 the Spanish government instituted a public-school system which was intended to make it possible for every Filipino boy and girl to receive a primary education. Religious subjects, as well as secular subjects, were to be taught in these newly established schools, and the parish clergy were still to have a voice in the management of school affairs although not complete control of education. From these government primary schools many students, especially the children of well-to-do parents, went into the institutions of higher learning, and some even went to foreign countries to complete their education. Thus, in addition to the commercial class, there was growing up a well-educated professional class — doctors, lawyers, teachers, writers — prepared to become leaders in their country.

356. Liberalism and Reaction. Unfortunately for Spain and for the Philippines, the Spanish government appeared unable to adopt a settled policy with regard to its possessions. A consistently liberal policy would have resulted in the development of an enlightened and loyal Filipino nation; a policy of firm repression might have maintained indefinitely the old

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, § 847. Ginn and Company, 1924.

CHRONOLOGY OF ORIENTAL HISTORY (1850–1921)

Malaysia (including Indo-China)	India	China	Date	Korea	Japan	Important Western Events
			1850		1853. Commodore Perry arrives at Japan	
	1857. Sepoy Mutiny				1854. Japan reopened	
	1858. Dissolution of the English East India Company					
	British Empire in India	1858–1860. The second treaty settlement				
1862. French acquire Cochin China						1861–1865. Civil War in the United States
1863. Public-school system in the Philippines		1865. End of the Taiping Rebellion		1866–1870. French and American attempts to open Korea		
		1868–1870. The Burlingame mission			1867. Beginning of Meiji Era; abolition of the Shogunate	1869. Suez Canal
1873–1905. War between the Dutch and the kingdom of Achin						1871. Unification of Germany
						Unification of Italy
					1874. China pays Japan indemnity and admits Japan's sovereignty over the Lu-chus	
				1876. Japanese treaty		
		1882. Chinese immigration to America suspended		1882. Korea opened to Western trade		
1884. Annam becomes a French protectorate	1885. Burma annexed			1885. Li-Ito Convention relating to Korea		
					1889. Constitution of Japan promulgated	

CHRONOLOGY OF ORIENTAL HISTORY (1850–1921) — CONTINUED

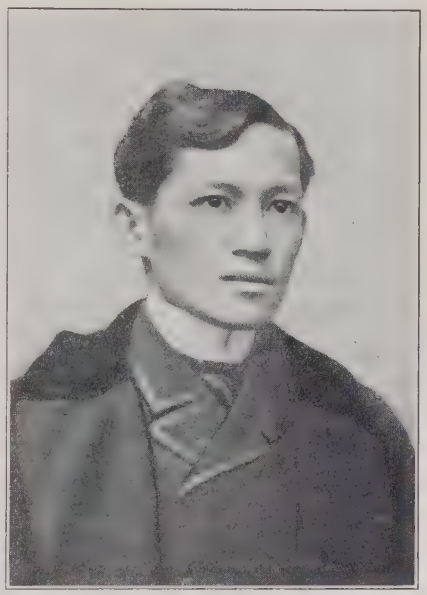
MALAYSIA (including Indo-China)	INDIA	CHINA	DATE	KOREA	JAPAN	IMPORTANT WESTERN EVENTS
		1894–1895. Chinese-Japanese War		1895. China recognizes the complete independence of Korea	1895. Japan victorious over China; Formosa acquired	
1896. Reforms in French Indo-China						
1896. Revolt against Spain in the Philippines						
1898. Dewey captures Manila		1898. The "Battle of Concessions"; "spheres of influence"				1898. Spanish-American War
1899. Revolt in the Philippines against America		1899. The "open door"				
		1900. The Boxers	1900			
1901. Inauguration of American civil government					1902. Anglo-Japanese Alliance	
				1905. Japan dominates Korea	1904–1905. Russo-Japanese War; Japan gains control of Manchuria and Korea	
1907. Popular assembly in the Philippines						
1909. New tariff law	1909. India Councils Act					
				1910. Korea becomes a part of the Japanese Empire		
		1911. The Revolution				
		1912. Establishment of the Republic			1912. Death of Emperor Mutsuhito; end of the Meiji Era	
		1915. The Twenty-one Demands				1914. World War
1916. Jones Bill: Philippine autonomy		1916. Death of Yuan Shih-kai; gradual breakdown of central administration				1917. Russian Revolution
	1919. Government of India Bill		1921			1921. The Washington Conference

absolute power of Crown and Church. Instead of following either policy, the Spanish vacillated between liberalism and reaction: for a while the Filipinos would be led to expect far-reaching reforms and a large amount of self-government; then these hopes would be disappointed by the appointment of a dictatorial governor and a horde of corrupt officials. This vacillation, which reflected the frequently changing political situation in Spain, had a disastrous effect upon Spanish authority in the islands. The irritation which resulted from the nonfulfillment of their hopes caused many of the Filipinos to lose sight of the numerous reforms which actually were instituted, and the harsh methods employed by some Spanish officials created a belief that all the Spaniards were cruel tyrants.

357. Growth of Revolutionary Sentiment. The educated leaders of the Filipinos — José Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Graciano López Jaena, and their companions — were persistent in their agitations for reform. Few of these reformers considered, at first, the possibility of gaining complete independence for the Philippines. Most of them regarded union with Spain as necessary and beneficial, but they demanded that the Filipinos be given representation in the Spanish Cortes and greater rights of self-government. As time went on, however, these men became more and more revolutionary in their beliefs. Like the people of England's American colonies, more than a century earlier, they gradually became convinced that it was useless to look to the home government for the desired reforms. Thus their followers began to organize revolutionary societies, the members of which were bound by oaths of obedience, brotherhood, and secrecy.

358. The First Period of Revolution. In August, 1896, the Spanish authorities received definite information with regard to the most powerful of these organizations, the Katipunan. This discovery was followed by the arrest and execution of a large number of prominent reform leaders, but it also led to the outbreak of open rebellion. From August, 1896, to August,

1897, the rebels, who had issued a declaration of independence, maintained the struggle; then a peace was arranged, and the rebel leaders went into exile with the understanding that the government would inaugurate a new reform policy. But this peace was destined to be merely a temporary truce; the Spanish had no intention of granting the demands of the Filipinos, while the Filipino leaders would be satisfied with nothing short of sweeping reform. The old discontent was soon more bitter than ever, and the rebels only awaited a favorable opportunity for renewing the struggle.



Dr. José Rizal

The Filipino liberal and patriot; executed in 1896 by the Spanish

359. The Spanish-American War in the Far East. In April, 1898, a long controversy between Spain and the United States, arising out of conditions in Cuba, resulted in the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. On the night of April 30 the American fleet, under Commodore Dewey, entered Manila Bay, and the following day the Spanish naval force was destroyed. Even before the arrival of the American fleet a fresh insurrection was being organized by the Filipino leaders. These leaders now rejected the conciliatory promises of the Spanish authorities and made common cause with the Americans. While a part of the insurgents coöperated with the American fleet in a blockade of Manila, other rebel forces car-

ried on a vigorous campaign against the Spanish detachments outside the capital. In the meantime a considerable force of American troops was hurriedly sent to the Philippines to support Dewey. On August 13 the land and naval forces of the United States, with assistance from the insurgents, compelled the Spanish to surrender Manila.

360. The Cession of the Philippines to the United States. Dewey's fleet had been sent to Manila Bay for the purpose of destroying the Spanish warships; the success of the American fleet and the collapse of Spain's power in the Philippines led to an important change in America's position in the Orient. France, Germany, Great Britain, and Russia all held possession of ports along the Chinese coast, while the busy seaports of Japan were not far from the important commercial centers of China; but the nearest port of the United States was Honolulu, which had been acquired, after the outbreak of the Spanish War, by the annexation of Hawaii. In the peace negotiations with Spain, which were concluded on December 10, 1898, the American government insisted upon the cession of the Philippines to the United States.

361. The Attempt to organize a Philippine Republic. For almost exactly three and one-third centuries the Philippine Islands had been under the rule of Spain. At the close of this long period many of the Filipinos had come to regard themselves as a nation, entitled to independence and self-government. When the American fleet destroyed the Spanish warships in the battle of Manila Bay, the Filipino leaders had no idea that the United States might demand possession of the islands. They therefore promptly issued a declaration of independence and proceeded to organize a government, with Emilio Aguinaldo as president. In September, 1898, a congress assembled for the purpose of drafting a constitution. On November 29 a constitution was adopted, and on January 21, 1899, it was promulgated by President Aguinaldo. In the meantime, however, Spain had agreed to transfer the archi-

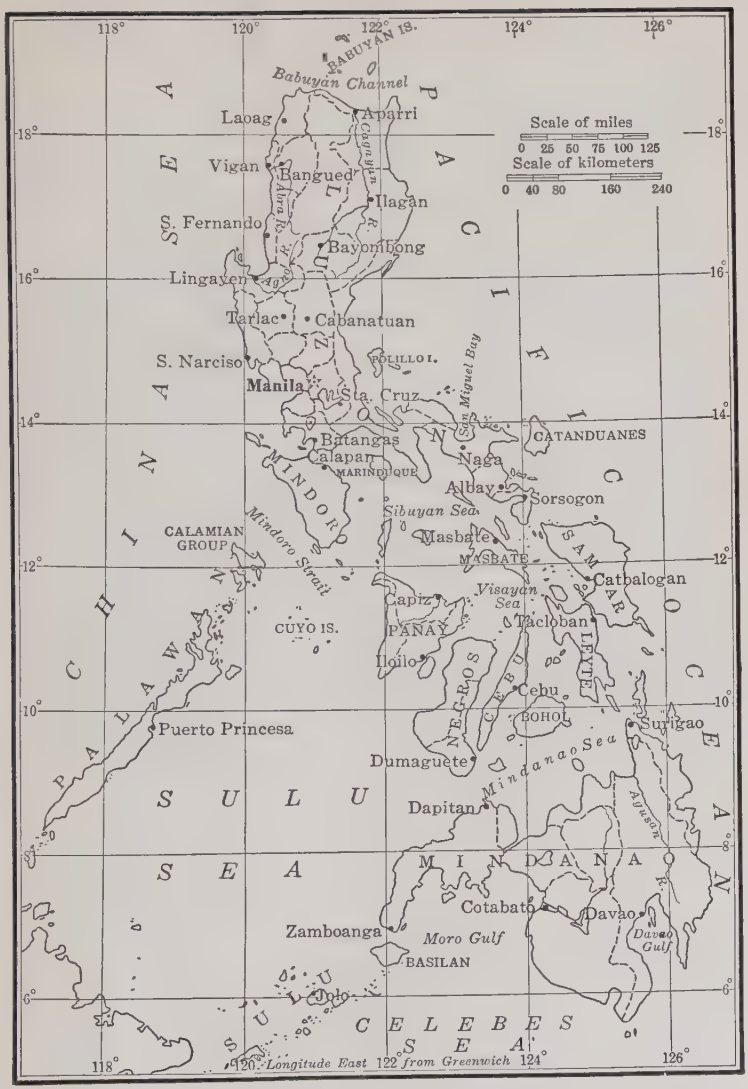
pelago to the United States, and President McKinley had instructed the commander of the American forces that the sovereignty of the United States must be maintained.

362. The Philippine Revolt (1899–1902). Two weeks after the promulgation of the new constitution, war broke out between the revolutionary forces and the American army of occupation. The conflict between the Filipino claims and the claims of the United States was quite simple. The Filipino leaders refused to recognize that Spain had any power to transfer the islands; they asserted that by the time the treaty was signed the Spanish authority had been completely overthrown and that Spain therefore no longer possessed an actual sovereignty which could be surrendered by treaty. The United States government, on the other hand, held that the Filipinos had not actually gained their independence from Spain; that the withdrawal of the American forces would have been followed by the suppression by Spain of the struggle to establish a republic; that Spain, at the time of the treaty of peace, was therefore the actual and legal sovereign of the islands. As neither side had any intention of abandoning its position, war was inevitable. The Filipino leaders looked upon the affair as a war to maintain the independence which they had already won from Spain; in the eyes of the American government it was an insurrection. For a short time the Filipinos were able to maintain an organized government to direct the operations of their army; but in November, 1899, the last of their numerous capitals was captured, and the government disappeared. There followed a period of guerrilla warfare in northern Luzon and in some of the other islands. With the capture of President Aguinaldo in March, 1901, most of the resistance came to an end; the last of the guerrilla leaders, however, did not finally surrender until June, 1902.

363. American Policy of Liberal Reform. Long before the complete suppression of this armed resistance the American authorities had inaugurated a program of far-reaching reforms

such as the Filipinos had vainly attempted to secure from the Spanish. The educational system was reorganized and made more modern; a new judicial system was instituted; municipal self-government was introduced. These reforms, in which ample provision was made for participation by the Filipinos, did much to win over the revolutionary leaders. The earlier resentment gradually died out, and the people of the Philippines settled down to enjoy the new era of prosperity under American rule. In spite of its failure, the Filipino attempt to establish an independent state was important, since it was one of the early signs that the Orient was beginning to resent the domination of the Occident. This movement, however, was not directed against Western ideas or against Western civilization; it was merely an attempt on the part of the Filipinos to establish their own independent state organized along Western lines.

364. Self-Government in the Philippines. From the very beginning of American rule in the Philippine Islands the Filipinos were given a share in the management of public affairs. On July 4, 1901, martial law gave way to a civil government, and William H. Taft — subsequently president of the United States — assumed office as the first civil governor of the islands. In the work of administration Governor Taft was assisted by a commission composed of four American and three Filipino members. The local, provincial, and municipal governments were placed almost entirely in the hands of Filipinos. For a while the provincial officers were appointed by the civil governor; later they were elected by popular suffrage. The municipal officials, with certain exceptions, were also chosen by popular vote. Although the Filipinos still cherished a desire for complete independence, the degree of self-government granted to the islands was welcomed for a while by a great majority. As a result of this feeling of satisfaction, Filipinos and Americans were able to coöperate in the task of improving the social and economic condition of the people.



THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Showing the modern provincial boundaries

365. The Demand for Independence. Because of their long struggle for national emancipation, which commenced under the Spanish régime, the Filipinos were especially prompt in their response to the new nationalist spirit which swept through the Orient after the close of the Russo-Japanese War. Their successful participation in the management of political

The New Government Building at Manila

affairs convinced them that they were fully capable of complete self-government; the wealth and prosperity of the islands were regarded as entitling the Philippines to independent national existence. The year 1906 therefore saw the commencement of a strong nationalist movement and the formation of political parties with a program calling for the establishment of Philippine independence.

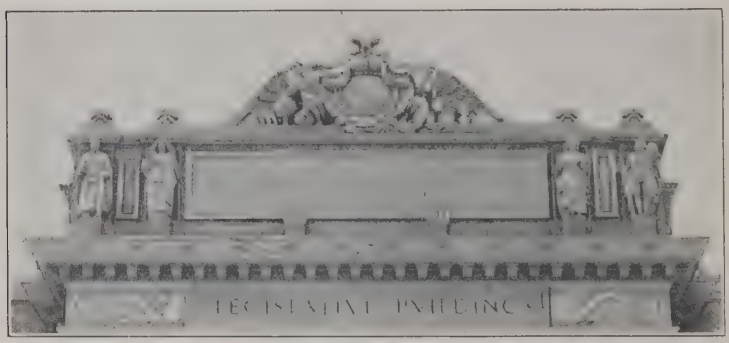
366. American Concessions. Although the government of the United States was not prepared to give the Filipinos either complete independence or home rule, it was ready to meet the

new demands with conciliatory concessions. By a change in the earlier regulations, the people were given more extensive rights of self-government in provincial affairs. Far more important, however, was the creation of an assembly, which was to share with the old commission the powers of legislation. On July 30, 1907, the first general election was held for the purpose of choosing the eighty members of the new assembly; on October 16 the members gathered at Manila and entered upon the performance of their functions. While making these concessions to the Filipino aspirations for self-government the United States government at the same time took steps to create stronger ties between the Philippines and America. Before 1909 goods imported into the United States from the Philippines were subject to tariff, but the tariff law of that year provided for the future admission of Philippine products duty free. Duties were also removed on American goods entering the Philippines. This arrangement has resulted in a rapid increase of trade and in strengthening the economic bond between the islands and continental United States.

367. The Jones Bill. The first six years after the creation of the Philippine Assembly (1907–1913) saw occasional friction between the assembly and the commission, which, consisting of four Americans and three Filipinos, constituted the upper house of the Philippine legislature. At this time the policy of the United States was directed by the Republican party, which was opposed to the idea of immediate Philippine independence; but in the presidential election of 1912 the Democratic party, which advocated granting independence to the islands at an early date, succeeded in electing Woodrow Wilson. President Wilson was inaugurated in March, 1913, and in October Francis Burton Harrison, the first governor of the Philippines appointed by a Democratic president, arrived at Manila to assume office. In accordance with the policy advocated by the Democrats, the new governor, by adding two more Filipino members to the commission, gave

the Filipinos a majority in both branches of the legislature. As a result of this initial step by the new administration the Philippine statesmen became fully responsible for the management of the affairs of state.

In 1916 an act of Congress, commonly known as the Jones Bill, completely reorganized the government of the Philippine Islands. This bill, enacted on August 29, 1916, declares in the



THE FOUR SOURCES OF PHILIPPINE CULTURE

Here we see the four figures which have been carved upon the façade of the new Legislative Building at Manila. The two figures on the left are Lao-tzu and Manu, symbolizing the debt of the Philippine people to China and to India. Third from the left stands the figure of Justice, symbol of Anglo-Saxon law introduced by America. The figure of the Spanish soldier on the extreme right commemorates the Spanish conquerors, by whose achievements the Philippines were brought under the influence of Western civilization

preamble that "it is, as it always has been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein." "For the speedy accomplishment of such purpose," the Jones Bill provided a constitution for the Philippine government. It established a Philippine legislature consisting of two elected houses: a senate with twenty-four members and a house of representatives with ninety members. The governor general had the power of veto, and the Congress of the United

States reserved the power to nullify any law which might meet with the disapproval of the United States government; otherwise the legislature had complete legislative authority, subject only to constitutional prohibitions such as are contained in the Constitution of the United States.

It should be noted in connection with the Jones Bill that it represents in its preamble the essential American policy in dealing with the countries of the Far East. The statement that "it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipiency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement" is in harmony with the traditional American attitude. The same is true of the policy of helping the Filipino people "in order that by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence."

During the remaining years of the Democratic régime, which lasted until March 4, 1921, Governor General Harrison adhered to the policy of allowing the Filipinos to exercise full autonomy under the provisions of the new constitution. Since the return of the Republican party to power in the United States, although there has been more American supervision over the affairs of the Philippines, the provisions of the Jones Bill have not been altered; the Filipinos therefore enjoy more extensive rights of self-government than the people of any other Oriental land under Western control.

QUESTIONS

I. Show how the commercial development of the Philippine Islands fostered the growth of an educated middle class. Describe the policy of the Spanish during the last part of the nineteenth century. How did this policy serve to stir up revolutionary sentiment?

II. How did America gain a possession in the Far East? Why was this possession important for American trade? Why did war break out

between the Americans and the Filipinos? What was the importance of the Philippine republic?

III. What early provisions for Philippine self-government were made by the United States? When was the first Philippine Assembly elected? What was the Jones Bill? Describe the present Philippine legislature.

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Discuss the significance of the four figures on the façade of the Legislative Building, and compare the importance of the four influences which they symbolize.

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CHAPTER XXVII

CHINA'S STRUGGLE AGAINST FOREIGN AGGRESSION AND INTERNAL DISORDERS

1868–1870. The Burlingame mission
1874. Dispute between China and Japan because of the Lu-chu Islands
1876. The Chefoo Convention between China and Great Britain
1881. Treaty of St. Petersburg settles the Kuldja dispute between China and Russia
1885. The Li-Ito Convention establishes the joint control of China and Japan over Korea
1885. Treaty of Tientsin, between China and France, confirms France in the possession of Tongking

368. The Troubles of China. While Japan was making sweeping reforms and preparing to become a competitor of the Western nations, the Chinese were finding it exceedingly difficult to adjust themselves to new conditions. There were a number of reasons for this difference between the two neighboring countries. China has a much larger population than has Japan, and this population extends over a vastly greater area. The Chinese have been so long accustomed to self-government in local affairs that it has always been difficult for the authorities at Peking to institute changes in matters which affect the daily lives of the people. China had originated much of her ancient civilization and was therefore less willing to adopt sweeping changes than were the Japanese, who had merely borrowed this civilization from the continent. The European nations, who had a much greater commercial interest in China than in Japan, had demanded and obtained from the Chinese more extensive treaty rights than they had attempted to secure from the Japanese. Three of these Western powers, moreover, held territories the frontiers of

which touched those of the Chinese Empire, and they were endeavoring to expand their possessions. Thus the years which followed the treaty settlement of 1858–1860 were for China years of storm and trouble.

369. Internal Disorders. The difficulties of the Chinese government were increased by numerous internal disorders. The Taiping Rebellion, which lasted from 1850 until 1865, was merely the first of a long series of outbreaks and disturbances in various parts of the empire. Some of these internal troubles were revolutionary movements stirred up by anti-Manchu secret societies. Others took the form of anti-foreign outbreaks and were the result of popular disapproval of the new treaty rights granted to the "Western barbarians." Still other disturbances were caused by bodies of armed robbers who seized upon the general confusion as an opportunity for unrestrained banditry. Whenever these disorders threatened to interfere with the interests of foreign missionaries or merchants, the authorities of the central government were immediately deluged with complaints and demands from the foreign diplomats at Peking.

370. The Burlingame Mission. The second treaty settlement (1858–1860) gave to the four foreign powers — France, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States — the right to maintain resident ministers at the Chinese capital. This right, which was later extended to all other countries concluding treaties with China, was immediately exercised by all four treaty powers, and the Chinese government created a bureau of foreign affairs, the Tsungli Yamen, as a channel through which the foreign diplomats might communicate with the imperial authorities. Although it was frequently urged that China ought to send ministers and consuls to look after her interests in foreign lands, the imperial government for several years paid no attention to such proposals. Not until 1868 did the Chinese make an effort to secure a fair presentation of China's wishes and China's difficulties to the governments of

the Western world; when the attempt was finally made, the Chinese spokesman was an American, Anson Burlingame.

Anson Burlingame, who had been appointed United States minister to China in 1861, arrived in Peking in July, 1862, and soon showed himself a warm friend of China. In November, 1867, the Chinese government, learning that Mr. Burlingame intended to resign his post, invited him to accept appointment as head of a Chinese diplomatic mission which was to be dispatched to the governments of all the treaty powers. This invitation was accepted, and the following February saw the Burlingame mission depart from Shanghai for San Francisco. In Washington Mr. Burlingame, as representative of the Chinese Empire, negotiated a new treaty with the United States. In London he succeeded in persuading the British government to adopt a more conciliatory attitude in its dealings with China. At Paris the representative of China found the French government less inclined to make promises; but in Berlin the German government, which had concluded a treaty with China, repeated the assurance that had been secured from the British. From Berlin the mission proceeded to St. Petersburg; but here, in February, 1870, the leader of the mission died. In the two years between his departure from Shanghai and his death at St. Petersburg, Mr. Burlingame rendered good service to the Chinese government and to the cause of peace in the Far East. For a while, at least, the influence of his diplomatic efforts led the Western countries to adopt a less aggressive policy in their relations with China, with the result that the Chinese government had an opportunity to restore order at home.

371. The United States and Chinese Immigration. The Chinese-American treaty negotiated by Mr. Burlingame in 1868 provided for the free immigration of Chinese into the United States. This provision was a concession *by* the Chinese government *to* the government of the United States, which was anxious to secure an abundant supply of laborers for develop-

ing the resources of the Western territories. It was not long, however, before the Washington authorities were driven to change their position on the immigration question. American workingmen in the Pacific coast states were soon complaining against the competition of "cheap Oriental labor." As early as 1876 these complaints were laid before Congress, which passed an act two years later forbidding the immigration of Chinese laborers. This act was vetoed by President Hayes, on the ground that it violated the terms of the treaty with China; but in 1880 an American mission was sent to Peking for the purpose of securing a revision of the clause relating to immigration. In a new treaty the Chinese government agreed that the government of the United States might "regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence,[1] but may not absolutely prohibit it." For the next twenty-five years the immigration question was the cause of frequent controversies between the two countries. In 1882 Congress took advantage of the new treaty and "suspended" for ten years the immigration of Chinese laborers. Six years later, in violation of the treaty provisions, a new act of Congress absolutely prohibited Chinese laborers' coming to the United States. A new treaty in 1894 secured China's assent to this exclusion policy, but in 1904, when the treaty expired, the Chinese government refused to renew it, and the Chinese people, by a boycott of American goods, showed their bitter resentment to the humiliating discrimination against Chinese in America.

372. Relations with Japan. In 1871, four years after the opening of the Meiji Era, relations between China and Japan were regulated by a commercial treaty signed at Tientsin. In their treaties with the Western countries both China and Japan had been forced to consent to the establishment of "extraterritoriality"; that is, subjects or citizens of foreign countries residing in China or Japan were subject only to the laws of their own countries as administered by their own con-

[1] That is, the coming or residence of Chinese laborers.

sular officials. The treaty between China and Japan, however, made no such arrangement; each government agreed that its people, while residing in the territories of the other, should be subject to the jurisdiction of the regular local authorities.

The friendly relations established by this treaty were soon disturbed by a dispute arising out of the murder of some Lu-chuan fishermen who were shipwrecked in 1871 on the island of Formosa. The Lu-chu Islands, geographically a southern continuation of the Japanese archipelago, are inhabited by people closely related to the Japanese; the Tokyo government therefore regarded the Lu-chus as a part of the Japanese Empire and demanded that China pay compensation for the murder of the shipwrecked men. This the Chinese government refused, declaring that the Lu-chuans were vassals of China and that Japan had no right to interfere in the matter. In 1874 the Japanese dispatched an expedition to Formosa to secure by force the satisfaction which China refused to grant. For a few weeks war between China and Japan appeared certain, but the Chinese government finally gave way and paid five hundred thousand taels[1] to the Japanese government: one hundred thousand taels as compensation for the murders, the balance as payment for the expenses of the expedition. This settlement, which tacitly admitted Japan's sovereignty over the Lu-chus, was a complete victory for the Japanese and soon encouraged them to challenge China's authority in a new field, Korea.

373. The Opening of Korea. Hideyoshi's unsuccessful attempt to conquer Korea (§ 271) had been followed by a complete termination of all intercourse between Korea and Japan. Soon after this attempt the Japanese had adopted the policy of nonintercourse with the world; the Koreans also had abandoned relations with all outside countries except China, whose emperor the Korean king acknowledged as his suzerain.

[1] A tael is a "Chinese ounce" of silver and is worth about seventy-five cents in United States currency.

When China was compelled by the treaties of 1858–1860 to open her doors to the West, some of the foreign powers soon turned their attention to Korea. In 1866 a French expedition made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain satisfaction for the murder of a French missionary in Korea. Four years later the United States endeavored to open the ports of Korea to foreign trade, but this effort also met failure. In 1876, however, a Japanese ship, while exploring the coast of Korea, was fired upon by the Koreans. This incident served as a pretext for a Japanese expedition against the "Hermit Kingdom." Korea was forced to pay an indemnity and to sign a treaty which opened three ports to Japanese trade. The Chinese government, fearing the influence of Japan, now advised Korea to negotiate treaties with other foreign powers. In 1882 a treaty was therefore concluded with the United States, and the next four years saw the establishment of treaty relations with England, Germany, Italy, Russia, and France.

374. The Li-Ito Convention. The Chinese and the Korean governments considered that these treaties made no change in the old relationship between Korea and China; Korea was still a "vassal" state, owing tribute and allegiance to China. Most of the foreign powers were willing to recognize this relationship, but the United States and Japan insisted on regarding Korea as an independent sovereign state. The American government believed that only an independent state had the power to make treaties, but Japan took this stand because the Tokyo government was determined to substitute Japanese influence in Korea for that of China. The Japanese soon succeeded in organizing at Seoul a strong pro-Japanese party, which favored the rapid introduction of Western reforms, and which was opposed by a conservative pro-Chinese party. Conflicts between the two parties created serious disturbances in the capital, causing China and Japan to send troops into Korea for the protection of their interests. In 1885, taking advantage of the fact that China was at war

with France (§ 378), the Japanese government approached China with a demand for some satisfactory solution of the Korean difficulty. Negotiations between Li Hung-chang and Count Ito Hirobumi, Japan's leading statesman, resulted in the so-called Li-Ito Convention, which was signed on April 18 at Tientsin. The Li-Ito Convention gave China and Japan equal rights in respect to Korean affairs. Both governments were to withdraw their armed forces from Korea within four months; if in the future either government should find it necessary to send troops into Korea, it must give the other government "previous notice in writing" of its intention to take that step. Korea thus ceased to be the vassal of China and became a "joint protectorate" of its two powerful neighbors. Nine years later this arrangement, as we shall see, led to the outbreak of war between the two "protectors."

375. Trouble with Great Britain. China had scarcely settled her Formosa dispute with Japan when she found herself involved in difficulties with Great Britain. British commercial interests in China were more important than those of any other foreign country, so the British were the first to realize the unsatisfactory character of the existing treaty arrangements. In 1874 the British authorities in India, anxious to develop trade between India and the southwestern provinces of China, had secured China's permission to send an exploring expedition into Yunnan by way of Burma. In February, 1875, Mr. A. R. Margary, a member of this expedition, was attacked and killed on Chinese soil by a Chinese armed force. The British minister at Peking, Sir Thomas Wade, demanded immediate satisfaction for this outrage and also seized upon the incident as an opportunity for settling the various other questions in which Great Britain was interested. In September, 1876, after long negotiations between Sir Thomas Wade and Li Hung-chang, an agreement known as the Chefoo Convention settled most of these questions in a manner which was fair to both countries. On account of objections raised by the

British merchants, the Chefoo Convention, unfortunately, was not ratified by Great Britain.

In 1885, as we have seen in Chapter XXIII, the British completed the conquest and annexation of Burma. Burma had been for many years a vassal of the Chinese Empire, but China was now unable to defend her vassal against a Western power. In 1886, by means of a treaty which provided that Burma should continue to send, at ten-year intervals, the customary "tribute" to Peking, the British government secured China's recognition of the annexation. The "decennial tribute" was sent once, after the conclusion of this treaty; then the British government repudiated its agreement and discontinued the custom.

376. The Kuldja Dispute with Russia. In 1863 the Mohammedan tribes of Chinese Turkestan rose in revolt and overthrew the local Chinese authorities; an able leader named Yakub Beg put himself at the head of the movement and set up an independent state with its capital at Kashgar. On the pretext that the uprising threatened the peace and safety of Russian territories, the Russian government, in 1871, occupied a district known as Kuldja (or Ili) in the northern part of Chinese Turkestan, promising to restore the district as soon as China was able to subdue the rebels. When Russia gave this promise she had no idea that the Chinese government would ever be able to restore order in the rebellious province; but China was not yet entirely lacking in able military leaders. In 1870 General Tso Tsung-tang, who had been suppressing another Mohammedan uprising in Yunnan, turned his forces toward Turkestan. Tso Tsung-tang's advance was very slow; on two occasions he halted his army long enough to plant and reap a crop of grain to provide food for its own use. But in the fall of 1876 he reached the western portion of Turkestan; in 1877 Yakub Beg was defeated and the rebellion was suppressed.

The time having now come for Russia to evacuate Kuldja in accordance with her promise, the Chinese government, in

December, 1878, sent a special representative to St. Petersburg to secure the Russian withdrawal. More than two years passed before China succeeded in forcing the Russians to keep their promise. The first Chinese negotiator agreed to a treaty giving Russia more than half of the district together with a sum of five million rubles as payment for the expenses of the occupation. This treaty was promptly rejected by the Chinese government, and the unfortunate Chinese official nearly suffered the death penalty as a reward for his blunder. Peking repeated its demand for the restoration of the territory, and the Czar's ministers, having been informed by the Russian governor of eastern Siberia that he had no forces capable of dealing with the Chinese army under Tso Tsung-tang, reluctantly gave way. On February 12, 1881, the Treaty of St. Petersburg restored practically the whole district to China; China paid the Russians nine million rubles for their trouble.

377. The French Advance into Tongking. We have already seen, in Chapter XXIII, that the king of Annam was forced to cede Cochin China to France in 1862, and that in 1867 the French established a protectorate over the neighboring kingdom of Cambodia. Having thus gained a foothold in these southern provinces, the French were soon extending their influence into other parts of Annam. In 1866 a French expedition under Françoise Garnier was sent up the Mekong River for the purpose of discovering a satisfactory trade route into the Chinese province of Yunnan. The upper portion of the Mekong proved to be unnavigable; but Garnier, when he reached Yunnan, discovered another river (the Red River) which seemed to be navigable. In 1873, therefore, Garnier with a force of two hundred and twelve men was sent to Hanoi to secure permission for French merchants to use the Red River as a trade route into Yunnan. When the Annamese refused to grant this permission, hostilities resulted; Garnier with his little army took Hanoi and quickly conquered the

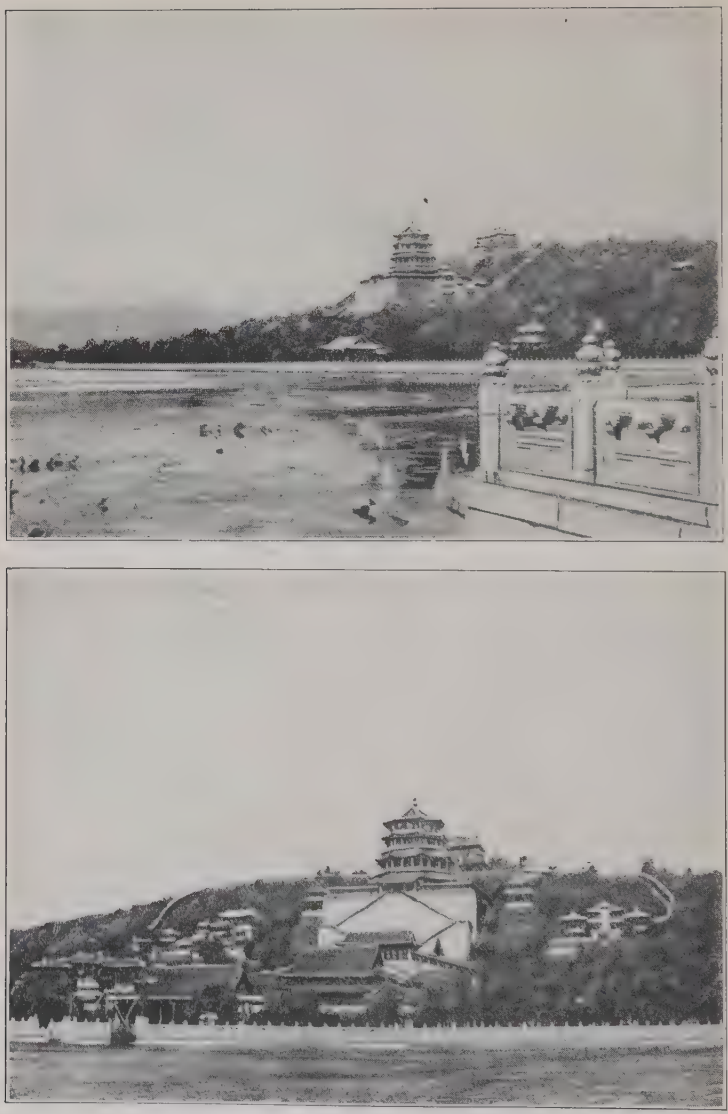
greater part of the Red River delta, but was later defeated and slain. Following the death of Garnier, the French concluded a treaty of peace with Annam in 1874. In this treaty France renounced all claims to Garnier's recent conquests and recognized the independence of the kingdom, but received the right to trade along the Red River and to advise the Annamese government on all foreign questions.

378. War between China and France. The French-Annamese treaty of 1874 was communicated to the Chinese government in May, 1875, at the moment when China appeared to be on the verge of war with Great Britain over the Margary murder (§ 375). Although the treaty infringed upon China's rights in Annam, the Chinese were at that time in no position to raise an objection. It was not long, however, before Annam, alarmed at the growing activity of the French, began to appeal to China for protection. In 1882 the French took Hanoi by storm and forced the Annamese government to conclude a new treaty which transformed the kingdom into a French protectorate. The Peking government entered a vigorous protest against this new move, and Chinese forces were sent into Tongking, the northern province of Annam. China and France were both anxious to avoid war. In May, 1884, therefore, Li Hung-chang and a French officer named Fournier drew up a convention in which China recognized the French treaty with Annam and agreed to withdraw the Chinese troops from Tongking. Before this arrangement could be communicated to the Chinese military officials in Tongking a clash between the French and Chinese forces produced a state of war. Although there was no declaration of war, hostilities continued on land and sea throughout the winter of 1884–1885. On the sea the French had a decided superiority, but on land the Chinese succeeded in inflicting several severe defeats upon their Western enemy. After several unsuccessful attempts to open negotiations, peace was finally restored by a new Treaty of Tientsin, signed on June 9, 1885. Neither government received any war

indemnity, the Li-Fournier Convention was affirmed, and certain arrangements were made for trade between Annam and the adjoining Chinese provinces.

379. China's Attempts at Reform. In spite of these various encroachments upon her outlying provinces, China in 1885 still commanded the respect of the Western world. Japan had made good her claim to the Lu-chu Islands and had successfully challenged China's ancient position in Korea; but the first of these was regarded as a minor affair, while the second had been accomplished by taking advantage of China's troubles with France. Britain had annexed the vassal state of Burma, but had considered it wise to appease China by agreeing to continue the tributary missions from the Burmese capital to Peking. France had compelled the Manchus to abandon their suzerain authority over Annam, but the military efficiency shown by the Chinese troops in their operations against the French had added greatly to China's prestige. Even greater prestige had been gained in the Kuldja controversy, where Russia — much to the surprise of all Western diplomats — had been forced to hand back most of the disputed territory.

Not only had China recovered from her extreme weakness of 1860 but she even appeared to be adopting a reform policy similar to that of the new Japanese government. Bodies of soldiers were armed and drilled in accordance with Western methods; a beginning was made in the development of a modern navy; a number of Chinese merchants were encouraged to organize a steamship company and to engage in foreign trade as well as in trade between Chinese ports. Especially important was the creation of the "Imperial Maritime Customs," which, by a more efficient and more honest collection of the tariff on foreign trade, provided the imperial government with a greatly increased revenue from that source. However, most of these reforms, instead of being nation-wide like the Meiji reforms in Japan, were local changes carried out by a few energetic provincial officials headed by Li Hung-chang.



TWO VIEWS OF THE SUMMER PALACE

Erected several miles outside of Peking, by the Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi, to take the place of the palace destroyed in 1860

380. The Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi. The renewed strength of China was due not to these spasmodic attempts at Western reform but to the appearance of a strong ruler at the head of the government. When the Anglo-French forces advanced upon Peking in 1860, the imperial court took refuge at Jehol, north of the Great Wall. Here the feeble Emperor Hsien Feng (1851–1861) died, leaving the throne to his infant son Tung Chih (1861–1875). The mother of the young emperor was the famous Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi, one of the most remarkable women in the pages of history. Tzu Hsi, who was only twenty-six years old when her son ascended the throne, directed the government of China during the next forty-seven years. Strong-minded and self-willed, she possessed the ability to choose capable subordinates; seldom in the history of China has the country had a body of officials more efficient than those whom she put in charge of affairs. Acting under the leadership of the Empress Dowager, these officials restored to the old governmental machinery such energy and efficiency that China was still regarded as the strongest empire in the East.

QUESTIONS

I. Why could Japan adjust herself to the new conditions more easily than could China? What was the Tsungli Yamen? What was the attitude of the United States in 1868 toward Chinese immigration? Show how this attitude changed. How did the dispute arise between China and Japan with regard to the Lu-chu Islands? Tell the story of the opening of Korea. Give the terms of the Li-Ito Convention.

II. What change was made in the relations between Burma and China in 1886? How did the Kuldja dispute arise? How was it settled? What was the Tongking war? Who was Tzu Hsi?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Have the foreign powers always regarded their treaties with China as "sacred"?

CHAPTER XXVIII

JAPAN AS A WORLD POWER. THE END OF KOREA

1894. War breaks out between China and Japan
1895. Treaty of Shimonoseki (April 17)
The Three-Power Intervention by Russia, France, and Germany (April 23)
1902. First Anglo-Japanese Alliance (January 30)
1904. Outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War (February 8)
1905. Treaty of Portsmouth (September 5)
1907. Japan enters into secret agreements with Russia and with France
1910. Annexation of Korea
1912. Death of Emperor Mutsuhito; end of the Meiji Era
1923. The great earthquake

381. Japan's New Needs. Within forty years after Commodore Perry and his "black ships" first appeared in Yedo Bay, the Japanese government began to feel a need for territorial expansion. In Japan, as in the West, the introduction of modern industrial methods had led to the increased production of manufactured goods and to a rapid growth of population. Only in one of two ways could provision be made for this additional population: by emigration or by the expansion of Japan's trade. But both possibilities would be provided if Japan could extend her political control over Korea and some adjoining portions of the Asiatic mainland. Korea possessed valuable mineral resources, and the rich plains of eastern Manchuria could produce far more food than was needed for its own sparse population. Korea and Manchuria, if annexed to the Japanese Empire, would supply Japan with large quantities of food, minerals, and timber in exchange for the products of Japanese factories, while millions of Japan's surplus population could find homes in these new provinces.

Japan had other weighty reasons for a growing desire to extend her sway over the Korean peninsula. In the first place,

the conquest of Korea would do much toward wiping away the disgraceful memory of Hideyoshi's disastrous attempt three centuries earlier. In the second place, the seizure of the peninsula would enable Japan to keep any powerful Western country — Russia or Great Britain — from establishing itself at a point dangerously close to the Japanese coast. In the third place, the annexation of Korea, which could be accomplished only after a successful war with China, would prove to the Western world that Japan — not China — was the leading power in the Orient. Finally, the Japanese government had domestic reasons for desiring a successful foreign war. Such an event would satisfy the military party, silence the critics of the government, and arouse in the people a spirit of patriotic enthusiasm which would cause them to forget, for a while, the heavy burdens of taxation that had been imposed upon them.

382. War between China and Japan. In the spring of 1894 Korea was thrown into great confusion by the rebellious activities of an organization known as the Tong Hak. As a result of this confusion, the Korean king appealed to Peking for aid in restoring order. The Chinese government, after giving Japan the formal notification required by the terms of the Li-Ito Convention (§ 374), promptly sent a body of two thousand soldiers to Korea. Before the arrival of the Chinese force the Korean government had succeeded in suppressing the disturbance, but in the meantime Japan had sent into the peninsula, for the protection of Japanese interests, an armed force of her own. In view of the fact that order had been completely restored, the Chinese government now proposed the simultaneous withdrawal of Chinese and Japanese forces; but Japan responded with a demand that China join her in compelling the Koreans to adopt such political reforms as would prevent any future disturbances. When China refused to take a hand in changing the Korean government, the Japanese determined to act alone. On July 23 a Japanese force entered the royal palace at Seoul, imprisoned the anti-Japanese

queen, and placed a pro-Japanese regent at the head of the government. Four days later the new regent, in obedience to his Japanese masters, declared war against China and requested Japan to aid him in driving the Chinese from his country. Japan had already commenced hostilities by destroying, on July 25, an unarmed transport which was carrying Chinese reënforcements to Korea. On the first of August both emperors issued proclamations declaring that a state of war existed.

The war which followed proved to be an uninterrupted series of Japanese victories. China's new navy, although potentially stronger than the Japanese fleet, was so poorly supplied with ammunition that it was quickly driven from the open sea. On land the Chinese soldiers, only a small part of whom were supplied with modern weapons, offered even less resistance to the steady advance of Japan's well-organized army. Crossing the Yalu River and pushing westward through southern Manchuria, the Japanese captured, in the early part of November, the important fortress of Port Arthur. Three months later, on February 12, 1895, the fortified harbor of Weihaiwei, together with the bulk of the Chinese navy which had fled there for refuge, fell into the hands of the irresistible invader. Beaten and humiliated, China had no alternative but to sue for peace. On March 19, five weeks after the fall of Weihaiwei, Li Hung-chang arrived at the Japanese port of Shimonoseki, intrusted with the task of securing from the victorious Japanese the best possible terms.

383. The Treaty of Shimonoseki. Once more, as in 1885, the plenipotentiaries of the two countries were Li Hung-chang and Ito Hirobumi. A Japanese attempt to assassinate Li Hung-chang, which resulted in merely a minor wound for the aged Chinese statesman, delayed negotiations for a brief period, but on April 17 the Treaty of Shimonoseki was formally concluded. In spite of Li's best efforts Japan's terms were severe. China recognized the complete independence of

Korea, ceded to Japan the Liaotung peninsula together with Formosa and the Pescadores Islands, agreed to pay a war indemnity of two hundred million taels, and opened four new treaty ports to foreign trade. In addition to all these provisions, a most-favored-nation clause in the treaty extended to Japan all the rights of trade, residence, and extraterritorial jurisdiction that had been secured from China by the Western treaty powers. Henceforth Japan, in her relations with the Chinese Empire, stood upon a footing of equality with the conquering countries of the West.

384. The Three-Power Intervention. Although Japan was able to force China's consent to the terms laid down at Shimonoseki, she was not allowed to reap all the fruits of her triumph. From the very outset of the war, the Great Powers of Europe, although recognizing that a Japanese victory must result in the abandonment of China's claims in Korea, had given evidence of their unwillingness to see any portion of the Chinese mainland transferred to Japan. As early as October, 1894, the British government proposed that the neutral powers intervene in the war to secure the restoration of peace upon the following basis: independence for Korea, the cession of Formosa and the payment of a suitable war indemnity to Japan, and territorial integrity for China. The British proposal was rejected by the other neutrals, but Japan was repeatedly warned that the Western powers would not consent to her permanent annexation of any Chinese territory upon the continent of Asia.

Soon after the commencement of negotiations at Shimonoseki, the Russian government, which was deeply interested in the future of Manchuria, revived the question of joint intervention. Great Britain now refused to take part in any such move, but the German and French governments agreed to act with Russia in the matter. On April 23, six days after the conclusion of the Shimonoseki treaty, the Russian, German, and French ministers at Tokyo presented to the Japanese

foreign office identic notes, demanding that Japan, in the interests of peace in the Far East, surrender her claim to that portion of Manchuria which was ceded to her by the treaty. Twelve days later, on the advice of the British government, Japan gave formal notice that the Liaotung peninsula would be handed back to China. In return for this surrender of territory, Japan obtained the right to demand an increase of thirty million taels in the amount of the war indemnity.

385. Effects of the War and of the Intervention. Up to the time of China's crushing defeat by the Japanese, the Western governments had continued to look upon the Chinese Empire as a formidable power, capable of playing an active and important part in world affairs. The outcome of the war completely destroyed this belief; henceforth China was regarded as a helpless giant — the "Sick Man of the Far East" — incapable of offering the slightest resistance to the demands of the foreign powers. With respect to Japan the war had just the opposite effect. Hitherto the Mikado's empire had been regarded as progressive and interesting but not especially important; now, however, the whole world realized that the Japanese must be considered in connection with all future questions relating to the Far East.

Equally important were the effects of the Three-Power Intervention, by which the Japanese had been forced to abandon their claim upon the Liaotung peninsula. The loss of Liaotung, although partly compensated by an increased war indemnity, was a severe blow to Japanese hopes. Government and people, resentful of this European meddling in the affairs of the Orient, began to dream of the day when Asia, with Japan as its leader, would be able to defy the powers of the West. China, on the other hand, soon discovered that the intervening powers had no intention of going away empty-handed. Having aided China in her hour of distress, the French, Russian, and German governments lost little time in pointing out the concessions which they desired as rewards

for their valuable services. The French and the Russians, knowing just what they wanted, soon received their rewards. France obtained the cession of some territory along the upper Mekong River, and Russia secured permission to build her Trans-Siberian Railway across northern Manchuria. The Germans were less prompt in presenting their demands and, for the moment, received nothing.

386. Russia in Manchuria. In the course of the Chinese Boxer Movement of 1900 (§§ 401–406) the Russians sent large military forces into Manchuria and soon gave evidence of a determination to transform the province into a Russian protectorate. While the general peace settlement was being arranged at Peking, the Russian authorities at Port Arthur attempted to force upon the Chinese government a special settlement with regard to Manchuria. When the Chinese appealed to the other treaty powers for protection against Russian threats, the Czar's ministers disclaimed any intention of interfering with China's sovereign rights and declared that the extra troops would be withdrawn from Manchuria as soon as order was restored along the Russian railways. In accordance with this declaration some of the soldiers were recalled by the Russians; but they soon stopped their movement of evacuation and began to increase their activities throughout the entire region.

387. The First Anglo-Japanese Alliance (January 30, 1902). The Russian activities in Manchuria were a serious matter for Japan. If Manchuria became a Russian protectorate or a Russian province, the Japanese would find themselves excluded from any share in developing the resources which existed there. In addition to this danger, there was the possibility that Russian expansion would not stop at the Manchurian frontier but would continue into Korea. A Russian company was already claiming special timber rights along the Yalu River (the boundary between Manchuria and Korea), while the Russian minister at Seoul was steadily gaining influence over the Korean

king. The Japanese felt no doubts as to their ability to deal with Russia, but the memory of 1895 gave them reason to fear that a war would find Japan fighting not against Russia alone but against Russia supported by one or more other European powers. If Japan wished to challenge Russia, she must secure some guaranty against the possibility that other powers would come into the struggle on the Russian side. Such a guaranty was secured from Great Britain, Russia's traditional rival and enemy. On January 30, 1902, the first Anglo-Japanese Alliance was signed at London by Count Hayashi, the Japanese minister to Great Britain, and Lord Lansdowne, the British minister of foreign affairs. This treaty of alliance provided that if either country became involved in a war in defense of their common interests in the Far East, the other country would "use its efforts to prevent other powers from joining in hostilities against its ally." If, in spite of these efforts, another power should join in the hostilities, the other party to the treaty would come to the assistance of its ally and they would conduct the war in common. Insured against the danger of having to face a European coalition, Japan was now free to pursue her quarrel with the Russians.

388. The Russo-Japanese War (February 8, 1904–September 5, 1905). In June, 1903, after a year and a half of vigorous military preparation, the Japanese government requested the Russians to furnish information with regard to the date when the Russian troops would leave Manchuria. For about eight months the two governments carried on negotiations concerning their respective rights and interests in Manchuria and in Korea. Although the Tokyo authorities complained that the Czar's ministers assumed an arrogant attitude and frequently left the Japanese notes unanswered for long periods, the Russian government seems not to have believed that Japan intended to resort to war. The Russian fleet in the Far East was not concentrated; most of the ships were at Port Arthur, but several were icebound at Vladivostok and two were lying at

the Korean port of Chemulpo. On February 6, 1904, the Japanese minister at St. Petersburg suddenly broke off negotiations and left the Russian capital; two days later the Japanese naval forces appeared at Chemulpo and at Port Arthur. The two Russian ships at Chemulpo were destroyed, and serious damage was inflicted upon the main fleet at Port Arthur. As a result of these initial naval victories, Japan had control of the sea for the rest of the war and could send her troops and supplies across to Korea without fearing the Russian naval forces.

389. Japan's Military Successes; the Peace of Portsmouth. Japan's best hope for victory lay in crushing the Russian armies before any great body of reënforcements could be sent eastward from Europe to the scene of the war; therefore the Japanese generals constantly fought on the offensive. Korea was quickly overrun, and the Japanese armies forced their way across the Yalu River into Manchuria. At the same time other armies, transported by sea to the southern coast of Manchuria, landed on the Liaotung peninsula and besieged the Russian stronghold of Port Arthur. On January 2, 1905, after a desperate siege, Port Arthur surrendered; in March the main Russian army was defeated, but not crushed, in the great battle of Mukden; in May the Russian European fleet, which had been sent to the Far East to regain control of the sea, was absolutely destroyed in the battle of Tsushima. After this succession of disasters, the rising storm of revolution in Russia forced the Czar to accept President Roosevelt's offers of mediation. In August, 1905, the Russian and Japanese envoys met at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where, on September 5, a treaty of peace was signed.

By the Treaty of Portsmouth Japan gained certain definite benefits. Russia abandoned all right to interfere in the internal affairs of Korea, surrendered the southern half of Sakhalin Island, and agreed to transfer to Japan the lease of Port Arthur and the Liaotung peninsula. The Russian government

also consented to surrender to the Japanese the southern two thirds [1] of the railway between Port Arthur and Harbin.

390. The Importance of Japan's Victory. Far more important than all the changes provided in the treaty of peace was the effect of the Russo-Japanese War upon the peoples of the Far East. For more than a century the Orient had been helpless before the steady advance of the Occident. India, Burma, Annam had become possessions of expanding European empires; China, Japan, Korea had been forced to open their gates to European commerce; Siam, although independent, had seen her territories gradually reduced by the pressure of her European neighbors; the East Indies, long held by Western governments, had begun to regard themselves as part of the West. The Orient, feeling that the Western nations possessed some supernatural power which rendered them invincible, had been amazed at Japan's audacity in daring to provoke a war with Russia. And now the impossible had happened! Japan, an Oriental country, had met the mighty Russian Empire in single combat and had emerged victorious! A new spirit of hopeful nationalism spread through those parts of Asia where the people resented the domination of the West. Japan had proved that the European was not invincible; what Japan had succeeded in doing might also be accomplished by any other people. Since Japan had defeated the Russians by means of Western weapons, by organizing her state along Western lines, and by adopting the industries and the science of the West, this wave of nationalism was accompanied by a new interest in Western ideas and Western reforms.

391. "Asia for the Asiatics." The outcome of the war caused a great stir throughout the Far East. "Asia for the Asiatics" became the watchword of nationalist groups in every part of the Orient. Japan was taken as an ideal by the patriotic leaders in other Eastern countries, and a "Pan-Asian Union,"

[1] As far north as Kuan-cheng-tzu.

under the leadership of the Japanese Empire, was advocated by the speakers and writers of several countries.

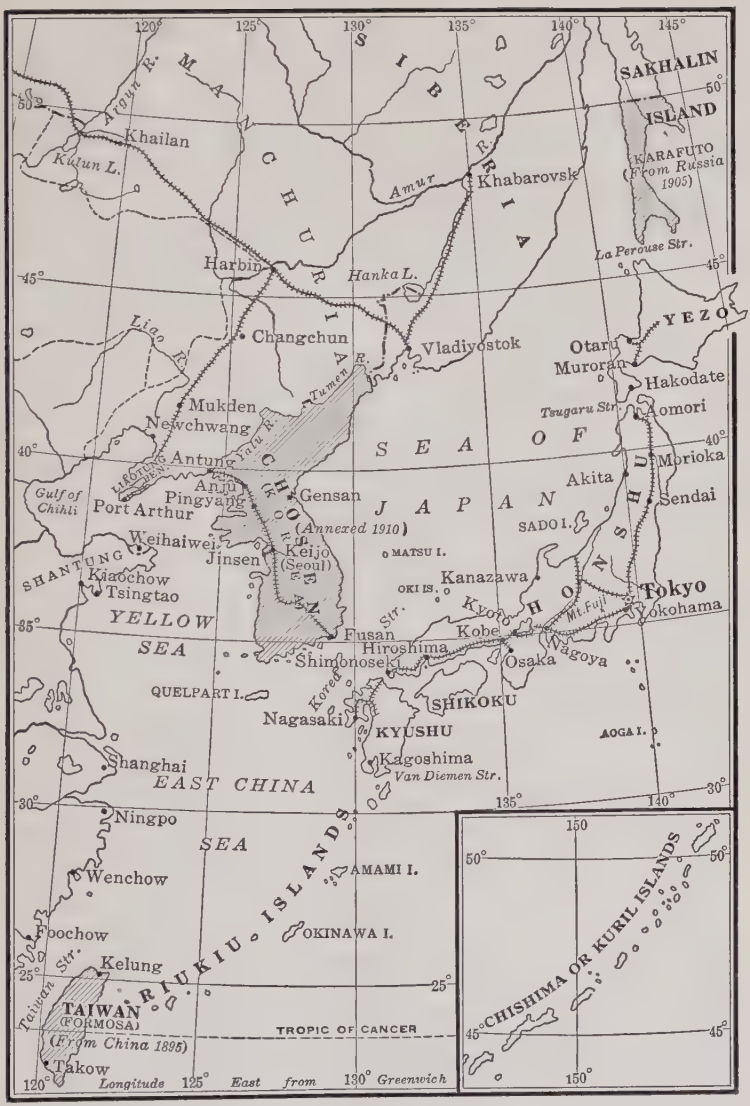
392. Japan a World Power. After the close of its war with China, the Japanese Empire had been recognized as the leading military state of the Far East; the war against Russia secured for Japan unquestioned recognition as a world power. Henceforth the great nations of the West were compelled to regard Japan as an equal and to consider Japanese interests in the adjustment of international problems. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, first formed in January, 1902, had been renewed with modifications in August, 1905, just before the commencement of peace negotiations at Portsmouth; in 1911 the Alliance was again revised and was renewed for a fresh term of ten years. In 1907 (§414) the French and Japanese governments arranged a settlement with regard to their interests in the Far East. About the same time the Japanese put aside their hostility toward Russia and reached an understanding with the former enemy concerning their respective spheres of interest in Manchuria and Mongolia. The outbreak of the World War found Japan, allied with France and Russia as well as with Great Britain, engaged in the struggle against Germany. Japan's share in the war was confined to the expulsion of the Germans from Kiaochow and from the German islands in the Pacific; but the close of the war saw the Japanese statesmen, as the representatives of one of the five principal victorious powers, arranging the terms of the Paris peace settlement. Today Japan is one of the select group of states that are entitled to permanent seats in the Council of the League of Nations.

393. The Passing of Korea. Although Japan's wars against both China and Russia were undertaken for the avowed purpose of securing the independence of Korea, Japan's rise as a world power has been accompanied by the disappearance of Korea as an independent state. In the first Anglo-Japanese Alliance the two allies bound themselves to recognize the independence of Korea, but when the Alliance was revised in

1905, this stipulation was omitted, and in the Treaty of Portsmouth Russia conceded Japan's right to a free hand in the peninsula. Having secured this free hand from both Britain and Russia, the Japanese government, on November 17, 1905, compelled the Korean monarch to sign away his independence and to accept Japanese suzerainty. For nearly five years Korea was allowed semi-independence as a "vassal" state; then, in August, 1910, the Korean monarch was removed from his throne, and his kingdom was definitely annexed to the Japanese Empire.

Since their annexation of Korea, now officially known by the old name of "Chosen," the Japanese have endeavored to prove their fitness to rule over a subject people. An efficient administration has been organized; railways and telegraph lines have been constructed; schools and hospitals have been established; improved methods of industry and agriculture have been introduced. Yet the Koreans have not been wholly contented under the new régime. Japanese domination has resulted in frequent outbreaks, some of which have been suppressed with considerable violence. The last serious disturbance in Korea took place in 1919, and it now seems possible that the Koreans, who are closely related to the Japanese, may eventually be assimilated into the Japanese Empire.

394. The Close of the Meiji Era. In 1912 the long reign of Emperor Mutsuhito came to an end. Ascending the throne fourteen years after Commodore Perry's first appearance in Japanese waters, Mutsuhito had lived to see remarkable changes in the empire over which he ruled. During the forty-five years of the Meiji Era, Japan had risen from almost complete insignificance to become one of the most important countries in the world. In government and in industry, in science and in the art of war, Japan had proved to the world that an Oriental country could use, and use successfully, the methods of the West. The old emperor was succeeded on the throne by his son Yoshihito, the one hundred and twenty-



JAPAN AT THE CLOSE OF THE MEIJI ERA

third sovereign in the long line which starts with Jimmu Tenno. It can hardly be expected that the era of "Taisho," as the new reign is called, will equal in achievement the one which preceded it; but there is every reason to believe that Japan will never drop back into the obscurity from which she emerged during the Meiji Era.

395. Japan's Economic Progress. Japan's position as a world power does not depend solely upon her strong army and navy; behind these outward symbols of national strength lie the rapidly developing industries that have been built up during the last half century. In addition to powerful warships, the busy shipyards of the empire have turned out hundreds of modern merchant steamers which now carry Japanese goods to all lands and compete with the ships of other nations for a share in the carrying trade of the world. Japanese cotton mills vie with the factories of England and the United States in producing cotton goods for sale in the Far East, while Japanese merchants are constantly seeking fresh markets for their country's exports. During the World War the expansion of Japanese industry and trade proceeded by leaps and bounds. Great quantities of war material were exported to Russia, who was almost entirely cut off from trade with her Western allies, and at the same time the peoples of the Orient turned to Japan for the manufactured goods which warring Europe was unable to provide. With the restoration of peace the Western competitors promptly reappeared in the field, and friction between Japan and China led to a Chinese boycott of Japanese goods; as a result of these two facts the Japanese have seen a considerable decline in their flourishing export trade.

On September 1, 1923, Japan was afflicted by one of the most terrible catastrophes in the nation's history; an earthquake, followed by a rapidly spreading fire which started up from thousands of ruined buildings, destroyed the city of Yokohama and a large part of Tokyo. Several hundred thousand lives were lost and an even greater number of people

lost their homes; a great industrial district was ruined and many miles of railway were completely destroyed. The Japanese were faced with the tremendous task of rebuilding, and in this they have received aid from the other nations of the world, which have raised money for the relief of the homeless and starving and have offered a generous sympathy. The Japanese people have met their task with a courage which illustrates one of their finest characteristics, and great progress has already been made in reconstruction.

QUESTIONS

I. How could the possession of Korea benefit Japan? Trace the events leading up to the war between China and Japan. Why was Japan successful in this war? What did Japan gain by the Treaty of Shimonoseki? What was the Three-Power Intervention? What was the result of the intervention? Why was China called the "Sick Man of the Far East"? What is a leased port? What valuable concessions accompanied the territories leased from China? Explain: The empire was divided into spheres of interest.

II. What were the Russian aims with regard to Manchuria? Why did Japan want an alliance with Great Britain? What was the dispute between Russia and Japan? What important advantage was gained by Japan at the outset of the war? What did Russia give up in the Treaty of Portsmouth? How did the rest of Asia regard the Japanese victory over Russia?

III. Show the steps by which Japan has gained recognition as a world power. How was Korea absorbed into the Japanese Empire? What is Japan's present economic condition?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Is it possible that the outcome of the Russo-Japanese War may prove to have contributed to "world peace"?

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CHAPTER XXIX

CHINA: THE REVOLUTION, THE REPUBLIC, AND THE NEW NATIONALISM

1897. The Germans land at Kiaochow; beginning of the "Battle of Concessions"
1898. The "Hundred Days of Reform" (June to September)
1898. The Empress Dowager's *coup d'état* (September 22)
1899. Beginning of the open-door negotiations (September)
1900. Siege of the legations at Peking (June 20 to August 14)
1901. The Peking Protocol marks the restoration of peace after the Boxer outbreak (September 7)
1906. The empress dowager decrees that China shall have a constitution
1908. Accession of Hsuan Tung
1911. The Chinese Revolution
1913. Yuan Shih-kai becomes president of the Chinese Republic and dissolves parliament
1916. Death of Yuan Shih-kai

396. The Lease of Kiaochow. We noticed in the last chapter how France and Russia received from China certain concessions as rewards for their intervention at the close of China's war with Japan. Germany, the third of the intervening powers, felt that she also should receive some compensation for her friendly action, but by the time the German authorities had decided just what they wanted, they found that China's gratitude had begun to grow cool. For more than a year the German representatives at Peking vainly attempted to convince the Chinese statesmen that, by granting Germany a naval station on the coast, China would secure a strong friend who would protect her against all her enemies. The Chinese insisted that the granting of a port to Germany would lead all the other powers to demand similar concessions.

In November, 1897, the German government determined to seize by force what it could not obtain by diplomatic negotia-

tions. Taking advantage of the murder of two German missionaries in the province of Shantung, it dispatched a squadron of warships to the port of Kiaochow, where a strong force of marines landed and took possession of the town. Four months later, on March 6, 1898, China agreed to lease Kiaochow to Germany for a period of ninety-nine years.

397. The "Battle of Concessions." The lease of Kiaochow was the signal for an international scramble to secure the remaining good seaports along the Chinese coast. Russia obtained Port Arthur on a twenty-five-year lease. Great Britain secured Weihaiwei, to be held as long as Russia retained possession of Port Arthur, and also obtained a ninety-nine-year lease of an additional portion of the Kowloon Peninsula, opposite Hongkong. France received a ninety-nine-year lease of Kwang-chow-wan, a port in the southern part of Kwangtung province.

These leases, which were all extorted from China by displays of naval force, were accompanied by grants of valuable economic concessions. Each country obtaining a lease secured the right to build railroads and open mines in the province in which the leased port was situated. When all the good ports had been seized, the demands for railroad, mining, and other concessions continued. The several concession-hunting governments began to divide the empire into "spheres of influence," agreeing among themselves that each would refrain from seeking special privileges in those provinces which were recognized as belonging within the special spheres of other powers. Helpless to defend itself against the concerted action of all these countries, the ancient empire seemed once more to be doomed to destruction; in the Far East and in Europe people spoke openly of the coming "partition of China." Of all the great Western powers the United States alone took no part in the plans of partition, and it was from this direction that China received assistance.

398. America's New Interest in the Orient. Since the time when the United States took the lead in opening Japan to in-

tercourse with the outside world, American influence in the Orient had greatly declined. But the transfer of the Philippine Islands to American sovereignty marked, as we have seen, the reappearance of the United States as an important factor in Far Eastern affairs. During the thirty years which followed the close of the American Civil War, the people of the United States, occupied with the task of developing the natural resources of their own country, had welcomed the investment of European capital in American mines, factories, and railroads. Now the development of these resources had reached such a point that the Americans, like the Europeans, were seeking opportunities for investing their own surplus capital in foreign lands. This desire to find fields for investment caused the Americans to look with disfavor upon the division of China into "spheres of interest." The history of European expansion shows that the step from spheres of interest to protectorate has usually been short; it seemed quite possible that the various European governments would soon claim political control over the provinces lying within their respective spheres.

399. The Open-Door Negotiations. This possibility aroused the American Department of State to prompt action. In September, 1899, less than eight months after the Philippines were transferred to the United States, Secretary Hay took steps to secure for American business an "open door" in China. Notes were addressed to the governments of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and Japan, requesting assurance that the ships and the merchants of all nations should be given equal treatment within any leased territory or sphere of interest that these six countries had secured in China. The notes also requested assurance that these six countries would not interfere with any treaty port or with any existing treaty rights inside their spheres of interest. Each of the governments replied that if all the other powers agreed to do the same, it would give the assurance requested by the United States. In March, 1900, Secretary Hay therefore informed the

six governments that satisfactory replies had been received from all, and that the United States would henceforth consider them all bound to maintain the policy of the open door. Although Mr. Hay's notes recognized the existence of foreign spheres of interest, America's stand on the open-door question, by discouraging any further step toward partitioning the Chinese Empire, was an important move in the defense of China against the aggression of the West.

A Small Tower of the Winter Palace, Peking

The Winter Palace, which is inside the walls of Peking, is the palace where Kuang Hsu was confined after the *coup d'état*

400. The "Hundred Days" and the *Coup d'État*. The danger of partition led also to vigorous action by the imperial government. Between June 11 and September 22, 1898 (the so-called "Hundred Days of Reform") the young emperor, Kuang Hsu, under the influence of a group of enthusiastic reformers, attempted to carry out a policy of complete reorganization and reform. The emperor and his advisers hoped that this policy would accomplish two results: strengthen the empire and at the same time gain the good will of the powers which were threatening China's national existence.

If Kuang Hsu had been given time in which to carry out his experiment, the first of these objects might have been achieved; but the Western powers, instead of showing renewed consideration for China, continued to press upon the government with fresh demands for more extensive concessions. By the middle of September the condition of the empire seemed so desperate that the conservative officials, many of whom had accepted the reform program in the hope that it would bring relief from foreign aggression, began to urge the old empress dowager, who had by this time retired from active interest in public affairs, to resume direct control over the government. Tzu Hsi, who had been living in semi-retirement since 1889, made no move to interfere until the emperor attempted to put her in prison; then she acted with her usual energy. On September 22, 1898, she carried out a *coup d'état* [1] which ended the period of radical reform, removed the young emperor from power, and placed the reins of government in her own hands. With the *coup d'état* came the adoption of a new policy for the preservation of the empire. Kuang Hsu had hoped to make China strong by a rapid introduction of Western ideas and Western institutions. The empress dowager and her advisers saw the need for reform, but determined upon reform along more conservative lines; the old traditional institutions of government were to be strengthened and the officials were to be aroused to a more vigorous performance of their duties. In the hope of preventing any further Western aggressions, Kuang Hsu had proclaimed to the world China's readiness to open her resources for development and her ports for trade. The Empress Dowager, although wishing to avoid conflict with any power, determined to command the respect of the West; she therefore gave notice that China, for the present, would not consider any further requests for concessions of any sort.

[1] "Stroke of state." See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted. *Our World Today and Yesterday*, § 588. Ginn and Company, 1924.

401. The Boxers. The empress dowager realized that China's refusal to grant additional concessions might lead to a conflict with some Western power. She therefore made vigorous efforts to reorganize the military defenses of the empire. The modern-armed troops of the north were strengthened and were united under a single command, while the viceroys of central and southern China were instructed to modernize the forces under their control, and to take prompt action against any threatened attack upon their provinces. As an additional force for defense against possible invasion, especially in the northern provinces, the regular troops of which had been withdrawn for the protection of Peking, Tzu Hsi decreed that the old system of local militia was to be revived, and that militia bands were to be encouraged to organize. By the summer of 1899 many of these bands had begun to assume the high-sounding name "I Ho Tuan," or "Bands of Righteous Harmony"; but sometimes they were called "I Ho Chuan," or "Fists of Righteous Harmony," and it was the second of these names which came to the ears of the Westerners residing in the regions where the organizations developed. This name was promptly translated into the English equivalent, "Boxers."[1]

402. Diplomatic Demands for the Suppression of the Movement. The Boxers, who made no secret of their anti-foreign spirit, soon began to come into conflict with the Chinese Christians, whom they regarded as traitors because of their adherence to the foreign religion. Before long the Boxer disturbances began to attract the attention of the foreign diplomatic representatives, who protested against the persecution of the local Christians. In December, 1899, when an English missionary in Shantung province was murdered by some members of the Boxer organization, the British minister was not satisfied with the execution of the murderers; he and his colleagues at Peking demanded that the imperial govern-

[1] The commonly accepted belief that the Boxers were originally a body of rebels is an error.

ment take measures to suppress the Boxer movement. Since the Boxer bands had been organized in response to an imperial decree, the government was now in a difficult position. If the foreign demands were granted, the Chinese people, believing that the foreigners already controlled the government, might rise in rebellion against the Manchu dynasty; if the demands were refused, the powers might make war upon China and partition the empire.

403. The Legation Guards and the Taking of Taku. The first five months of 1900 were months of growing fear and suspicion. The diplomats at Peking suspected the imperial government of plotting to exterminate all foreign residents in China; the "Patriotic Bands" suspected the Western powers of planning the conquest of China; some of the Western powers suspected each other of aiming to use the disorders as an excuse for seizing a portion of the empire. Gradually the Boxer movement spread into the districts around Peking, and on June 1 the foreign ministers summoned bodies of marines from the warships lying off the mouth of the Peiho to act as guards for the legations. After the summoning of the legation guards, events developed with terrible rapidity. On the night of June 3–4 the Boxers, convinced that the invasion of their country had actually commenced, destroyed several stretches of the railway between Tientsin and Peking. On the evening of June 9 the British and American ministers telegraphed to the naval commanders off Taku, asking that reënforcements be sent to Peking before it was too late. In response to this request an international force of two thousand men under the British admiral Seymour left Tientsin the following morning, repairing the damaged railway as they advanced toward the capital. Later on the same day telegraphic communication between the legations and the outside world was cut; and by June 13 Admiral Seymour found himself hopelessly blocked by the Boxers, unable to advance or to retreat. On the morning of the seventeenth the international naval forces off Taku,

in order to reopen communications with the Seymour expedition, seized the Taku forts. Two days later, when the news of this action reached Peking, the war party seized control of the government and ordered the foreign diplomats to withdraw from the capital, since China was at war with the outside world.

404. China against the World. The notes to the foreign legations on the afternoon of June 19 gave the diplomats

THE EXTENT OF THE BOXER MOVEMENT

The unshaded portion of the map shows the region in which the Boxers and their sympathizers obtained control at one period or another

twenty-four hours in which to depart from Peking. Early the next morning the German minister, proceeding to the Tsungli Yamen (bureau of foreign affairs) for the purpose of protesting against this order, was shot and killed in the street. That afternoon, upon the expiration of the twenty-four hours of grace, the Boxers, with the assistance of part of the imperial troops, began the famous siege of the legations. For eight weeks the foreign community at Peking, with the help of the legation guards, defended themselves against the besiegers.

On August 14 the long siege was finally brought to an end through the capture of Peking by an international relief force.

405. The "Neutral" Viceroys and Governors. When the government at Peking decided upon war, orders were sent to the provincial officials throughout the empire, instructing them to commence hostilities against the foreigners. But the officials of central and southern China, led by the two Yangtze viceroys and by Li Hung-chang at Canton, refused to obey these instructions, declaring that the movement was a rebellion and that the instructions were not the commands of the lawful government. Although this decision by the powerful provincial officers aided the foreign governments in rescuing their besieged nationals at Peking, it probably saved the Manchu dynasty. The "neutral" viceroys and governors demanded as a price for their neutrality that no foreign armies should be landed in their provinces and that no attack should be made upon the imperial family.

In their efforts to save China from destruction the neutral viceroys and governors were aided by the attitude of the United States. On July 3, 1900, Secretary Hay dispatched a circular note to all the other governments interested in China, stating that it was the policy of the United States to "preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity . . ., and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire." This declaration of policy was promptly repeated by the other governments. An agreement signed by the British and German governments on October 16, 1900, by which the two countries pledged themselves not to utilize the present disturbances in China as an opportunity for gaining special territorial advantages, was also adhered to by all the other treaty powers.

406. The Peking Protocol. The efforts of the neutral officials, although they saved the imperial throne for the Manchus, could not save their country from deep humiliation at the

hands of the treaty powers. The Peking Protocol, signed on September 7, 1901, after nearly thirteen months of negotiation, forced China to pay dearly for her attempt to throw off foreign domination. The imperial government was compelled to put to death as "rebels" the responsible leaders of the Boxer movement, to pay an indemnity of four hundred and fifty million taels, and to agree to the permanent maintenance of foreign military forces at Peking. Other foreign troops were allowed to guard the railway between Peking and the seaport of Shanhaikwan; the forts at Taku and all other forts between Peking and the sea were destroyed, never to be rebuilt; and a decree was issued making membership in an anti-foreign society an offense punishable by death. In addition to these clauses providing for punishments and for guaranties of future safety, the Chinese government was forced to agree to such modifications in the existing commercial treaties as the foreign powers considered desirable.

407. Reform in the Chinese Empire. The humiliating results of the Boxer movement, following so closely upon China's defeat by the Japanese, convinced the Manchu government that the empire must adopt new methods if it was to become strong enough to resist foreign aggression. When the empress dowager Tzu Hsi returned to Peking after the Boxer settlement, she therefore inaugurated a policy of sweeping reforms in education and in the army. After Japan's victory over Russia this reform movement was carried on with greatly increased energy. An imperial decree in September, 1905, abolished the ancient system of literary examinations for the selection of officials; the officers of the government were henceforth to be chosen from among those who had mastered the political and scientific knowledge of the West. Schools offering Western education were now established in all parts of the country, while thousands of ambitious students went to Japan, America, or Europe to acquire a knowledge of Western subjects. At the same time, there were

instituted reforms in the Chinese legal system, with the purpose of establishing a code of laws similar to those existing in Western lands. On September 1, 1906, the old empress dowager took an even more astonishing step. During the preceding year an imperial commission had been traveling in foreign countries for the purpose of studying constitutional methods of government. In response to the report of this commission, an imperial edict now proclaimed the intention of the government to draft a constitution granting the people a share in the management of national affairs. A preparatory period of ten years[1] would be followed by the establishment of an imperial parliament; in the meantime the nation was to be educated for participation in its new responsibilities. In 1907 numerous self-government societies were formed to train the people in the duties of citizenship, and the following year saw preparations being made for the election of provincial assemblies. Inspired by the successful example of Japan, the Manchus were planning to save China from ruin by reforms similar to those of the Meiji Era.

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SUN YAT-SEN, PATRIOT, REFORMER, AND POPULAR LEADER

The man who probably did most to prepare for the Chinese Revolution

[1] This period was subsequently shortened to seven years.

408. The Accession of Hsuan Tung. On November 14 and 15, 1908, Emperor Kuang Hsu and the old empress dowager died within twenty-four hours of each other. A four-year-old child, the emperor Hsuan Tung, was now placed upon the throne, while the infant emperor's father, Prince Ch'un, assumed the regency. The new regent and his advisers, who were much more conservative than Tzu Hsi had been during the last years of her life, soon found themselves in difficulties. The more progressive Chinese leaders insisted that parliament should be called promptly and that it should be given real powers of control over national affairs; at the same time the old anti-Manchu spirit began to result in the development of anti-dynastic movements throughout the country. To make matters worse, the regent, soon after assuming power, had dismissed Yuan Shih-kai, who was the organizer of the modern army and the most influential Chinese supporter of the dynasty; as the officers and men of Yuan's "model army" were devoted to their old leader, the Manchus could no longer rely upon the army's loyal support in case of trouble.

409. The Revolution of 1911. On October 10, 1911, a mutiny broke out among the provincial troops at Wuchang on the Yangtze River. In a few days the provinces of the Yangtze valley and South China were in full revolt, while uprisings against the dynasty were beginning to occur in the northern provinces. As the revolution continued to spread the prince regent turned in despair to Yuan Shih-kai, the man whom he had forced into retirement three years earlier; Yuan hesitated for more than a month, but on November 15 he finally accepted office as premier, on condition that he should have absolute command of the imperial armies. Although the prince regent resigned his office on December 6 as a concession to the revolutionists, Yuan soon decided that the dynasty was doomed. On December 28 he advised the abdication of the Manchus as the only possible solution of the situation, and on February 12, 1912, his advice was taken; on that date an

edict appeared proclaiming the abdication of the imperial family and ordering Yuan Shih-kai to organize a government suitable to the needs of the country.

410. The Formation of the Chinese Republic. On January 1, 1912, the rebelling provinces had organized a republic with its capital at Nanking and with Dr. Sun Yat-sen as president;

THE EMPEROR'S READING-ROOM INSIDE THE FORBIDDEN CITY, PEKING

After the downfall of the empire the Forbidden City became open to sightseers. This picture was taken in the summer of 1915, when Yuan Shih-kai was preparing for a restoration of the empire

but on February 7, five days before the Manchu abdication, the Nanking leaders agreed to unite with the north in forming a new republic under Yuan Shih-kai as *provisional* president. In accordance with this agreement Yuan, on March 10, took the oath of office. A provisional national assembly met at Peking on April 28 and drew up rules for the election of a regular parliament consisting of two houses: a senate and a house of representatives. The regular parliament assembled in Peking on April 8, 1913; a committee was appointed to

draw up a permanent constitution; and, on October 6, Yuan was elected president of the republic.

411. Disunion. Although the internal troubles of the Chinese Republic cannot be treated fully in any brief history of the Far East, the international effects of those troubles make it necessary for us to give them consideration. Ever since the abdication of the Manchus, China has been torn between two parties which hold conflicting views as to the proper organization of the government. On the one hand are those who believe that the safety of the country depends upon the establishment of a highly centralized government; on the other hand there is a strong party which insists upon the maintenance of provincial autonomy as the only certain guaranty against tyranny. The first of these parties was headed by Yuan Shih-kai; the second party, known as the Kuo-ming-tang, included Sun Yat-sen and a majority of the southern members of the new parliament. During the summer of 1913 there were Kuo-ming-tang outbreaks, which were promptly suppressed by Yuan's military forces; in November, barely a month after his election as president, Yuan dissolved

YUAN SHIH-KAI, THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

parliament and began to govern the country by himself. The Kuo-ming-tang members of parliament, many of whom had not dared to go to Peking, now assembled at Canton, denounced Yuan as a usurper, and set up a rival government with Sun Yat-sen as president.

In the autumn of 1915 the advocates of strong centralization proposed that Yuan Shih-kai abolish the republic and assume the imperial title. This proposal was submitted to the vote of a carefully selected convention assembled at Peking, by which it was unanimously approved. The assumption of the imperial dignity was arranged to take place on January 1, 1916; but the Japanese opposition and anti-monarchical revolts in the southern provinces caused Yuan to abandon the proposed change. On June 6, 1916, Yuan died and was succeeded in the presidency by Li Yuan-hung, a loyal supporter of the republic. Under the new president the country was reunited for a while, but in the summer of 1917 the question of China's participation in the World War led to a fresh conflict between the two opposing parties. Parliament was dissolved and the southern members, returning to Canton, once more proclaimed an independent government. From this time there have been two governments in China: one at Peking, recognized by the foreign powers, and the other at Canton.

412. Tuchuns and Anti-foreignism. Yuan Shih-kai was able to control China by means of his loyal generals, whom he appointed military governors in the most important provinces. Since the death of Yuan, however, the real power has fallen more and more completely into the hands of these military governors, or Tuchuns. Instead of being able to rule the Tuchuns, the Peking government is always under the control of some Tuchun or group of Tuchuns, whose rivalry for power has resulted in almost constant civil war. These internal struggles have had an important effect upon China's relations with the outside world. The Chinese nationalists still bitterly resent the special privileges which the treaty powers secured

from China during the days of the empire and have been demanding that the old treaty rights be abolished and that the foreign powers recognize China as an equal; but the constant disorder within the republic has been a strong argument against the possibility of intrusting the protection of foreign lives and property to a government which is unable to control its own military officials. The Chinese reply that the privileges enjoyed by the foreigners are the chief cause of all the disorders and that China cannot "put her house in order" until she is mistress within her own doors. Until the foreign powers find some way of meeting these demands, there is danger that the nationalist movement will assume a decidedly anti-foreign aspect.

QUESTIONS

I. Explain the terms "spheres of interest," "open door," "most-favored nation."

II. What were the Hundred Days of Reform? What was the *coup d'état*? What measures were adopted by Tzu Hsi after she took over direct control of the government? Who were the Boxers? Sketch the story of the Boxer movement. How did the officials of central and southern China act during the Boxer movement? What penalties were imposed upon China as a result of the disturbance?

III. What was the policy of Tzu Hsi after the Boxer movement? What were the causes of the Chinese revolution of 1911? How was the republic established? What are the causes of disunion in China? Who are the Tuchuns?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Compare present conditions in China with (*a*) conditions in England during the Wars of the Roses, (*b*) conditions in France between 1789 and 1815.

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CHAPTER XXX

THE NEW LIBERAL POLICY IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES, FRENCH INDO-CHINA, AND BRITISH INDIA. SIAM REMAINS INDEPENDENT

1873–1905.	War in Sumatra between the Dutch and the Achinese
1896.	Anglo-French treaty establishing spheres of interest in Siam
1907.	Siam cedes the Mekong valley to France
1909.	Great Britain extends her influence in the Malay Peninsula
1909.	The India Councils Act
1919.	The Government of India Bill

413. The Dutch East Indies. Before 1848 the monarch of the Netherlands exercised absolute power over Holland's colonial possessions (§ 306); but the new constitution of the kingdom put colonial affairs under the control of the Estates General. By 1870 liberal ideas had begun to exercise a strong influence upon colonial policies and to secure a steady improvement in the nature of Dutch rule in the Far East. The old oppressive methods of government were gradually reformed, and the welfare of the people was given more serious consideration. At the same time, however, the Dutch government was engaged in extending its authority over additional territories, the most important of which was the state of Achin in Sumatra. The war against Achin, which began in 1873, was not brought to an end until 1905, when the Sultan finally surrendered to the Dutch armies; even after the Sultan's surrender, the people of Achin carried on a guerrilla warfare for about two years.

The growing influence of liberalism at home and the heavy costs of the long Achin war inclined the Dutch government toward the adoption of a conciliatory policy. The spirit of nationalism was met by fresh reforms in government and by fresh efforts to improve the conditions of the people. Since

1907, when the guerrilla warfare in Achin came to a close, the Dutch rule has depended upon good will rather than upon force. A modern system of public education has been introduced; taxes have been made less oppressive; and the islands have been opened to free trade. The new policy has been beneficial to the Dutch as well as to the people under their rule, the people have become loyally attached to the government, and the commerce of the islands has become steadily more profitable than it was under the old restrictions. Today the Dutch maintain practically no military or naval force for the retention of their East Indian possessions, but there seems to be absolutely no danger of their losing these possessions by revolution.

414. French Indo-China. For about ten years after the Tongking war with China (§ 378) the French made little effort to provide good government for their Indo-Chinese possessions. Swarms of greedy officials, ignorant of local customs and languages, imposed oppressive taxes which roused the people to frequent outbreaks against French rule. In 1896, however, an honest and energetic official, M. Paul Doumer, was appointed governor general. The new governor immediately embarked upon a vigorous policy of expansion and reform. The boundaries of the French possessions were extended westward so as to include the entire valley of the Mekong; the colonial finances were reformed; and the people of Indo-China began to enjoy the benefits of an efficient administration of justice. The policy of westward expansion led to some trouble between France and Siam; but Siam, by a treaty signed in 1907, abandoned all claim to the valley of the Mekong. Even before that date the internal reforms had strengthened the position of the French in the peninsula by removing many old causes for popular discontent.

In spite of this improvement in their colonial affairs, the French statesmen were greatly disturbed by the outcome of the Russo-Japanese War. Annam, like other parts of the Far

East, soon began to stir with the new spirit of nationalism. In response to nationalist demonstrations France made prompt concessions which, for the present, have satisfied the people. But the danger of popular outbreaks was not the only cause for French alarm. During the Russo-Japanese War France, although nominally a neutral, had given a good deal of assistance to Russia. The Japanese had protested against this unfriendly attitude on the part of France, and the French now feared a Japanese attack upon Indo-China. This fear lasted until 1907, when France and Japan reached a general agreement with regard to their interests in the Far East. Two years later a similar agreement was drawn up by France and Great Britain, adjusting their rival claims in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. As a result of these two agreements, which removed all danger of conflict with the British or the Japanese, France has felt perfectly secure in her Eastern possessions.

415. Indian Unrest and British Concessions. We have already seen in Chapter XXII how the suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny was followed by the abolition of the East India Company's rule in India. Since 1858, when the British government assumed direct control over the territories which had been ruled by the Company, the empire of India has steadily expanded. Partly for increased trade and partly for the sake of protection against warlike tribes on the frontiers, the British have extended their authority northward into central Asia and eastward into Indo-China, until they now rule over a population of more than three hundred millions. Because of the many divisions among the people of India, a few hundred British officials and a few thousand British soldiers, with the assistance of Indian troops, have been able to govern this vast population as a part of the British Empire. So long as there continues to be hostility between Mohammedan and Hindu, so long as the Hindus themselves are kept apart by the impassable barriers of caste, the British will not find it difficult to hold the power in a divided land.

In spite of these divisions the British government, even before the end of the nineteenth century, had endeavored to conciliate the Indian people by giving them representation in the advisory councils of the provincial governments. After the close of the Russo-Japanese War, when the doctrine of "Asia for the Asiatics" spread through the land, the "nationalists" began to demand a larger share in the government of their country. In response to these demands, new concessions had to be made, and the India Councils Act of 1909 gave the people of India the right to elect twenty-seven of the sixty members who made up the viceroy's legislative council.

416. The Growing Demands of Indian Nationalism. Although there were some disturbances in India during the World War, the greater part of the people loyally supported the Allied cause; but this did not prevent their taking advantage of the war as an opportunity to secure more political liberty. In 1915 a Hindu national congress demanded "home rule" for India, and in 1916 the Hindus and the Mohammedans were able, through their representative leaders, to reach complete agreement in support of these demands. The agreement between the Hindus and Mohammedans, formerly bitterly opposed to each other, convinced the British government that extensive concessions would be necessary. In 1917, therefore, it was announced that the British policy in India would be to grant the people an increasing degree of self-government. In accordance with this announcement the Government of India Bill was passed by Parliament in December, 1919. This act rejected the extreme home-rule demands; but it gave the Indians far more self-government than they had previously enjoyed. A parliament of two houses was created; the upper house, called the council of state, consisted of sixty members *appointed* for terms of five years; the lower chamber, called the assembly, contained one hundred and twenty members *elected* for three-year terms. The right to vote for members of the assembly was extended to a little more than two per cent

of the people. The act also provided for a possible revision of this arrangement in the year 1929.

The concessions made by the British government have not satisfied the Indian nationalists, who have continued their agitations in favor of complete self-government. The most serious

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"MAHATMA" GANDHI

He is seated beside the *charkha*, or native spinning wheel, symbol of his teaching that the Hindus should spin and weave their own cotton in their own homes

expression of dissatisfaction has been the "noncoöperative" movement, organized and led by "Mahatma" Gandhi. The plan of the noncoöperative movement is to boycott all British manufacturers, to encourage the old Indian handicraft industries, and thus to make India economically independent of Great Britain. Gandhi, himself a high-caste Hindu, has endeavored to break down caste barriers, to arouse a spirit of brotherhood among all the different religious groups, and to

keep all violence out of the movement. In none of these objects has he been completely successful. In spite of his efforts there have been several violent riots which have resulted in loss of lives, while considerable religious friction has marred the good relations between Hindus and Mohammedans.

417. Siam and her Neighbors. Siam, the one state in Indo-China that has been able to preserve its autonomy, owes her independence, in part, to the position which she occupies between the British and French territories. Although Siam had opened her ports to Western trade and had adopted many Western reforms (§ 316), this conciliatory policy did not serve to ward off foreign aggression. The mountainous frontier between Siam and Burma lessened the danger of any trouble with Great Britain in that direction; but the British in the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula and the French in Annam were both anxious to extend their holdings. In 1893 the French, by blockading the mouth of the Menam, forced the Siamese government to sign a treaty ceding to France all the territory on the east bank of the Mekong, together with a strip fifteen miles wide along the west bank. This step, to which Siam could offer no resistance, nearly resulted in war between France and Great Britain, but in 1896 the two Western powers settled their differences by a treaty guaranteeing the integrity of the remaining portions of Siamese territory. This same treaty divided the kingdom into three zones: the eastern zone was to be a French sphere of interest, the western zone was to be a British sphere, while the central zone was to be neutral. In 1907, as we have seen (§ 414), France secured certain additional territories on the west bank of the Mekong, Great Britain obtaining as compensation an addition to her sphere of control in the south of the peninsula.

In 1909 Siam ceded to Great Britain her suzerainty over Kedah, Kelantan, Tringganu, and Perlis, which became protectorates. A British adviser has been appointed to each one of the native sultans. These four states, together with Johor,

constitute today the other Malay states in the Malay Peninsula protected and advised by the British.

In exchange for this new surrender of territory, however, Siam secured one very important concession. Hitherto, all foreigners residing in Siam had been outside the jurisdiction of the Siamese courts; now, in recognition of the reforms which had been made in the administration of justice, the British and French governments abandoned their extraterritorial rights in the kingdom. The other treaty powers subsequently followed this example, and Siam regained complete sovereignty within her own doors. Since 1907 she has been in little danger of any fresh attack upon her independence. The growing national consciousness of the Eastern peoples has discouraged any return to the old expansionist policy by which colonial empires were established, while the steady improvement of Siam's internal administration and the liberal commercial policy of her present government provide no excuse for foreign aggression. Moreover, Siam is now a member of the League of Nations and could claim the protection of the League against any unprovoked attack upon her peace.

QUESTIONS

I. What change in the government of Holland took place in 1848? How did this change affect the Dutch East Indies? What is the present condition of the Dutch East Indies?

II. Who was Paul Doumer? What policy did he adopt? By what treaties did the French strengthen their position in the Far East? Show how the Japanese victory over Russia affected the French.

III. Explain the weakness of "nationalism" in India. What was the India Councils Act of 1909? the Government of India Bill?

IV. What did Siam lose and gain at the end of the nineteenth century? Do you think Siam will be further shorn of territory or independence?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Discuss the significance of India's membership in the League of Nations.

CHAPTER XXXI

RECENT EVENTS IN THE ORIENT

1914. Japan enters the World War
1915. The Twenty-one Demands (January 18)
1918. American, British, and Japanese forces sent into Siberia
1921. The Opening of the Washington Conference (November 12)
1924. China concludes a treaty with Soviet Russia (May)
1925. Treaty signed at Peking reëstablishes diplomatic relations between Russia and Japan (January 20)

418. What we have Seen. In the foregoing chapters of this book we have traced, often in brief outline, the history of the peoples and the countries of the Far East. We have followed the rise and spread of civilizations and empires. At times we have seen the forces of Asia strong enough to invade and conquer great parts of Europe; at other times the empires of the East have fallen into disorder and anarchy. We have watched the steady eastward advance, since the close of the fifteenth century, of a new and modernized Europe, armed with powerful machinery of warfare and inspired by the need for an ever-expanding commerce. We have witnessed the growth of European colonial empires, the conflicts between rival Western nations, and Asia's unsuccessful efforts to resist the progress of Western domination. We have seen Japan, armed with the weapons and the industrial machinery of the West, stand forth as the leading power of the Orient, strong enough to wage a successful war against the mighty Russian Empire.

419. The World War in the Far East. The great conflict that broke out in Europe during the last days of July and the opening days of August, 1914, soon involved all parts of the world. We have already noticed how India took advantage of the struggle to demand and secure additional rights of self-

government; how Japan, during the war, greatly increased her industry and trade; and how the question of participating in the war helped to create disunion in China. In addition to these indirect results of the great conflict, there were other consequences which seriously affected the relations between East and West, as well as the relations between different parts of the Orient.

420. Japan's Entry into the War. On August 15, 1914, Japan, acting as an ally of Great Britain, dispatched an ultimatum to Berlin demanding that Germany surrender to Japan the leased territory of Kiaochow "with a view to the eventual restoration of the same to China." Eight days later, having received no reply to its ultimatum, the Japanese government declared war upon Germany and prepared to take Kiaochow by force. The Chinese government, realizing that any attempt to enforce absolute respect for China's neutrality would draw the country into war with Japan, established a "war zone," which included Kiaochow and the adjoining districts of Shantung province. The German garrison at Tsingtao offered only a brief resistance and on November 7 surrendered to the Japanese. While carrying on their attack against the German stronghold, the Japanese had also occupied the German-built railways in the interior of Shantung. Japan's acquisition of this strong position in Shantung soon led to complications, which will be discussed in a later paragraph.

421. China becomes One of the Allies. On August 14, 1917, the Chinese government declared war upon Germany and Austria-Hungary. Although this step had no real effect upon the outcome of the war, it put an end to China's treaties with those two countries and assured China of a right to be heard in the peace negotiations at the close of the conflict. At Paris the Chinese delegates protested in vain against the treaty provisions by which Germany was required to transfer to Japan all former German rights in Shantung; finally they refused to sign the treaty and negotiated an independent treaty of peace

with the Germans. Despite their bitter disappointment at Paris, the Chinese gained something from their entrance into the war; the new treaties with Germany and Austria did not restore to these countries the rights of extraterritoriality which they had possessed under their former treaties. Henceforth Germans and Austrians residing in China were to be subject

A Glimpse of Unchanged China

Outside the treaty ports and away from the railways China changes little — or not at all

to Chinese law as administered by Chinese courts. China thus made a start toward securing authority over the strangers within her gates, while the Germans and Austrians — by continuing to reside in China under the new conditions — have proved that it is not impossible for Westerners to secure protection under Chinese law.

422. The Soviet Republic in Siberia. One more consequence of the World War deserves our attention because of its important effect upon the Far East; namely, the Russian Revolu-

tion. For more than three centuries Siberia has been part of the vast Russian Empire and of the Far East; therefore no change in the government of Russia can fail to affect the Orient. When the Bolsheviki, in November, 1917, gained control of revolutionary Russia and established the Soviet Republic [1] a great deal of disorder arose in Siberia, where the supporters and opponents of the Soviets fought desperately to gain control. In the summer of 1918, while the war was still in progress, American, British, and Japanese troops were sent into Siberia with the idea of encouraging the Russians to continue the war against Germany. After the conclusion of the Paris treaties these troops were gradually withdrawn, and the Soviet Republic established its authority over all Siberia.

423. Soviet Russia and China. When the Chinese Revolution started, in 1911, Czarist Russia encouraged the Mongolian tribes to break away from Chinese control and establish their independence. Four years later a treaty between Russia, China, and Mongolia recognized China's suzerainty over Mongolia but gave to the Czar's government the right of supervising Mongolia's foreign relations. After the establishment of the Soviet Republic in Russia, Mongolia became one of the battle-grounds of the Soviet and anti-Soviet forces, and in 1921 the Soviet authorities, having defeated their opponents, encouraged the Mongolians to establish an independent government patterned upon that of the Russian Republic. Since that time, however, the Moscow authorities, in their desire to gain the good will of China, have promised to withdraw their influence from Mongolia. The Russian attempts to win China's friendship have gone even farther. By a treaty signed in May, 1924, the Soviet government abandoned all special rights which Russia, under the Czarist régime, had secured from China, and treated with the Chinese Republic on a basis of absolute equality. Since the conclusion of this treaty there has been a steady

[1] See J. H. Robinson, E. P. Smith, and J. H. Breasted, *Our World Today and Yesterday*, §§ 978–979, 1062–1063. Ginn and Company, 1924.

growth of Russian influence in China; Russia sent an ambassador to Peking, where the other powers were represented only by ministers, and has lost no opportunity to impress upon the Chinese the great difference between Russia's policy and the policies of other nations. The growth of Russian influence has caused much alarm to the statesmen of other countries, who fear that the Chinese nationalists may be led to ally themselves with the Soviets against the West.

424. Japan and the Soviets. After the Russo-Japanese War Japan, as we have seen, soon abandoned her hostility toward Russia and reached an understanding with regard to the interests of the two empires in China's northern dependencies. Japan received recognition of her special rights in southern Manchuria and in southeastern Mongolia, while she agreed that northern Manchuria and the remaining portion of Mongolia should be a Russian sphere of interest. This arrangement, which meant the practical exclusion of other nations from a share in the development of Manchuria and Mongolia, remained in force until the downfall of the Czar's government and the establishment of the Soviet Republic. The struggle between the Soviet and anti-Soviet forces in Siberia caused great anxiety among the Japanese statesmen, who were afraid that revolutionary ideas and activities might spread into Korea and southern Manchuria. Therefore, in 1918, when the American, British, and Japanese troops were sent into Siberia, Japan sent a force much larger than the combined forces of the other two countries. Although the American and British troops were all withdrawn by the spring of 1920, the Japanese forces, which had occupied a number of widely scattered points in eastern Siberia, remained more than two years longer and were not recalled until the summer of 1922.

Following the withdrawal of the Japanese troops, the supporters of the Soviet quickly gained control and united the eastern provinces with the Soviet Republic. As the Japanese have important commercial interests in Siberia, the establish-

ment of Soviet power over the entire country made it necessary for Japan to reach some understanding with the Moscow government. For more than two years representatives of the two governments engaged in preliminary negotiations. There were many difficult points to be settled, but finally, on January 20, 1925, a treaty was concluded by the Japanese and Russian diplomatic representatives at Peking. This treaty restored economic and diplomatic relations between the two countries and settled most of the troublesome questions which had arisen. Whether Japan and Russia will be able to resume their former friendly relations is one of the important problems of the present day.

425. Friction between China and Japan. For a short time after the close of the Russo-Japanese War, the Chinese hoped that Japan might become the leader of Oriental resistance to the expanding power of the West; but Japan, as we have seen, preferred to look upon herself as a "Western" nation. Instead of becoming the leaders of a united Orient, the Japanese, by their aggressive policies in China, soon became more unpopular than the Europeans. After the outbreak of the World War the relations between the two countries became rapidly worse. During the Japanese operations against Tsingtao the Chinese government vainly protested against the action of Japan in extending her military activities outside the "war zone." On January 7, 1915, two months after the Germans surrendered Tsingtao, the Chinese government therefore issued a declaration abolishing the war zone, and requested the Japanese to withdraw their forces from the districts outside the Kiaochow leased territory. The Japanese, who chose to regard this declaration as an unfriendly act on the part of China, now determined to secure a satisfactory settlement of numerous questions in which Japan was deeply interested.

426. The Twenty-one Demands. On January 18, 1915, the Japanese minister at Peking, in an interview with President Yuan Shih-kai, presented an official note containing the so-

ASIA
Scale of statute miles
0 100 500 750 1000 1500
Scale of kilometers
0 200 600 1000 1500 2000
Capitals of independent countries
Other capitals
Principal railroads
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SPITSBERGEN
(To Norway)
North Cape
London
NORTH SEA
Paris
Berlin
BALTIC SEA
Marseille
Rome
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Constantinople
Brusa
Smyrna
Odessa
Moscow
Leningrad
Archangel
Orenburg
Tyumen
BLACK SEA
Trebizond
Batum
Angora
ANATOLIA
Aleppo
Damascus
PALESTINE
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez Canal
Nile R.
Mosul
Bagdad
Tabriz
Astrakhan
CASPIAN SEA
Kirghiz
Steppe
Khiva
Krasno-Vodsk
Tashkent
Bokhara
Askhabad
Samarkand
Teheran
PERSIA
Isfahan
Basra
Herat
Kabul
AFGHANISTAN
Kerman
Quetta
Lahore
Kalat
BALUCHISTAN
Delhi
Karachi
Maskat
Ahmadabad
ARABIAN SEA
Bombay
Goa (Port.)
Bangalore
LACCADIVE ISLANDS
Calicut
MALDIVE ISLANDS
Colomb
INDIAN
Jidda
Medina
Mecca
Riyadh
Persian Gulf
Great Arabian Desert
Mocha
Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb
Aden (Br.)
Gulf of Aden
SOKOTRA I. (Br.)
C. Guardafui
AFRICA
HEJAZ
ARABIA
RED SEA
ASIR
YEMEN
40°
50°
60°
70°
30°
20°
10°
0°
Longitude
East from

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called Twenty-one Demands. These demands, or "requests," were divided into five "groups."

The first group, containing four articles, related to the province of Shantung. Japan demanded China's agreement to any arrangement that Japan might make with Germany concerning the former German rights in the province, China's pledge that no part of Shantung and no islands along its coast would be leased or ceded to any other power, China's consent to the building of a new Japanese railway in the province, and a promise that China would open to foreign trade a number of important towns and cities.

The seven demands in the second group related to Japanese interests in South Manchuria and in Mongolia. China was to extend, to a period of ninety-nine years, the leases of Port Arthur and of the Manchurian railways already under Japanese management. She was to grant to the Japanese new railway, mining, and landholding rights in Manchuria, and to recognize Japan's power to veto any railway proposal or foreign loan secured upon the railways or the local taxes of the two provinces. In addition to these concessions, the Chinese government was to employ only Japanese as political, financial, or military advisers or instructors in this part of its territories.

The third group contained two demands relating to the Han-yeh-ping Company, the greatest iron and smelting concern in the republic. China was to consent to the conversion of this company into a joint Chino-Japanese enterprise, in which the Chinese interests were not to be sold without Japan's approval; moreover, the Chinese government was to pledge itself to ask permission from this company before it allowed the opening of any competing mines in the neighborhood of those controlled by the company.

The single demand in the fourth group requested a pledge that the Chinese government would not cede or lease to a foreign power any harbor, bay, or island along the coast of China.

The fifth group contained seven demands relating to a great variety of matters. The Chinese central government was to employ influential Japanese as advisers in political, financial, and military affairs. Japanese hospitals, churches, and schools in the interior of China were to have the right of owning land. Japan was to have the right to maintain Japanese police in certain parts of China. China was to purchase fifty per cent of her war munitions from Japan. Japan was to receive certain railway concessions in the Yangtze valley. Japan's consent must be secured before China employed any foreign capital for industrial undertakings in Fukien province. And Japanese (Buddhist) missionaries were to enjoy the same rights as foreign missionaries from other lands.

The Peking government objected that some of the Japanese requests could not be granted without violating China's existing treaties with the United States and the European powers, and other points were infringements upon China's independence. After long negotiations, during which some of the requests were withdrawn and others modified, China, on May 25, gave way to Japan upon the remaining points.

427. The Shantung Question. As a result of the Twenty-one Demands, Japan secured a number of important economic and political privileges in China, but her action aroused intense anti-Japanese feeling among the Chinese nationalists. When the Paris Peace Conference, in 1919, decided that the German rights in Shantung should be handed over to Japan, the anti-Japanese feeling in China became even more bitter. The Chinese patriots organized a strict boycott against all Japanese goods, demanded the immediate return of Shantung to Chinese control, and threatened a revolution if the Peking authorities agreed to any compromise in the matter. The question of Shantung was finally settled through a treaty signed at Washington during the Washington Conference; with the adjustment of this question the danger of trouble between China and Japan has been greatly reduced.

428. The Washington Conference. On November 12, 1921, the representatives of nine powers — the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, and China — assembled at Washington in a conference to discuss the limitation of naval armaments and to consider questions relating to the peace of the Far East. This conference, which continued its deliberations until February 6, 1922, took action upon a number of extremely important matters. The question of naval armament was adjusted by a treaty between the five first-named powers, in which those powers agreed to make no change, for a period of ten years, in the number and strength of their first-class warships. In the general interests of peace in the Far East, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was formally terminated, while four powers — the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and France — pledged themselves mutually to respect the territorial integrity of their various possessions in the Pacific. These same powers also agreed that during a period of ten years they would not erect any new fortifications or increase the strength of existing fortifications in their Pacific islands. With a view to aiding China in the restoration of internal peace, the nine powers, including China, bound themselves to observe the principle of the open door; a number of special treaty rights were abandoned; China was to be allowed to increase her tariff; and provision was made for later conferences to discuss the abolition of extraterritoriality in China. At the same time private negotiations between the Chinese and Japanese delegates resulted in an agreement whereby Japan handed back to China Kiaochow and the Shantung railways.

The Washington Conference did not settle all the problems of the Far East; but it attempted to meet and to settle those problems which seemed most likely to prove dangerous to the future peace of the world. When we consider the rapid increase of world commerce and the constant improvement in modern means of communication, we can appreciate the fact that the world is a much smaller place than it was even twenty

years ago. Under modern conditions there can no longer be separate histories of the East and of the West; all parts of the world are now drawn together into a single World History. The Conference at Washington, by its endeavors to adjust the most troublesome of the Far Eastern questions, showed that the statesmen of East and West realize that the future peace of the world is a single World Peace.

429. What of the Future? Tomorrow, next week, next year will see new chapters in the history of the Orient; what will be written in those chapters? Since the beginning of time, man's greatest longing has been the desire to know the future. The study of history does not enable us to predict the course of future events, but a careful examination of the past enables us to appreciate those things which are vital in the present and should prepare us to meet without surprise the developments of the future.

QUESTIONS

I. Show how the World War has affected Japan; China; Siberia. Describe recent relations between China and Russia; between Japan and Russia; between China and Japan.

II. What was the Washington Conference? What steps did it take on behalf of World Peace? on behalf of peace in the Orient?

TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION

Discuss the statement that "under modern conditions there can no longer be separate histories of the East and of the West."

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Section B contains books which are less easily obtained or which are not of such general importance as to warrant their purchase for a small library.

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Marked letters sound as in sāle, ăm, fär, åsk, a̤ccount, ēve, e̊vent, lĕnd, hėr, pate̤nt, īce, ĭt, ōld, ôbey, ŏn, côrn, ūse, ûnite, rŭn, ûrn, fůll, fo͝od, fo͝ot, *French* üne

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